



mcgill
daily

Away with all pests

The rise of Indian militancy

Council backs: no plans, no hope

Charles Gagnon on the workers' party

The right-wing view of the American Empire

And for all you sports fans, an editorial

today, tomorrow,...

Children's Christmas Party:

For children of graduates, to be held in Thompson House, 3650 McTavish St. on Saturday, December 16 at 1 pm. Santa will have a toy for each child. Call Margaret Lippert at 486-9891 to give your child's name or for more information.

S.C.M. Yellow Door Coffee House—Holiday Program:

Dec. 8-9—Fraser and De Bolt; Dec. 11-13—Gene Lehan; Dec. 14-16—Merle Michaels; Dec. 18-20—Cathy Fink; Dec. 21-23—Danny Greenspoon. The folk club will close from December 24 to January 4, 1973; lunch stops on weekends from Dec. 10 to January 20; there will be no lunch during the week from Dec. 22 to January 8, 1973. The last folk mass of the term is on Dec. 10.

Merry Christmas, be good little boys and girls, etc., etc. Bye now. (Special note: The Yellow Door is located on 3625 Aylmer; tel. 392-4947.)

Christian Fellowship:

Monday, Dec. 11, there will be a prayer meeting at 8:30 am. in Union 307. Tuesday, Dec. 12, there will be an informal sing session in Union 458 at 1 pm.

CDAS:

Dec. 8—No workshop. Dec. 15 at 12:15 pm on 3437 Peel Street, 2nd floor lounge, workshop #8. The subject will be "Space Technology—Satellites in Development", and the moderators are Profs. R. F. Salisbury and T. L. Hills. The panelists are Profs. J. T. Parry and M.A. Bradley. On Dec. 21 at 12:15 pm, also on 3437 Peel St. in the 2nd floor lounge, there will be workshop #9, the

subject of which is "Aspects and Problems in Organization of a Rural Development Program in the Mountains in the Vicinity of Bogota, Colombia". The speaker is Dr. Hubert Zandstra, Z.R.C. of Colombia Government Rural Development Project.

Pre-Med. Society:

There will be a film on Dec. 8, "The Detection and Treatment of Drug-dependents," in McIntyre, room 522 at 1 pm. All welcome.

Student Evening Concert:

Faculty of Music presents: Andante for English Horn, Reicha; Duet, C.P.E. Bach; Cassation for Woodwind Quintet, R. Arnell; Quintet for Clarinet and String Quartet, Mozart. Free. At 8:30 pm, Friday, Dec. 8, in Strathcona Music Bldg., 555 Sherbrooke St. W., room C310.

Faculty Friday:

Dec. 8—Concert Choir, directed by Wayne Riddell. Program: Canata No. 10, Bach; Magnificat for four equal voices, Palestrina; Magnificat (1949), Berio. 8:30 pm in Redpath Hall, free.

Chamber Music For Woodwinds:

Dec. 9—Student Concert with Ellen Cash, flute; Patrick Morrison, oboe; Paul Globus, clarinet; Felix Acevedo, French Horn; Richard Hoenich, bassoon; Hermann Vogelstein, piano. Program: Quartet in B-flat major, Rossini; Quintet in G minor, Op. 56, No. 2, Danzi; Quintet in E-flat major for piano and winds, K.452, Mozart. At 8:30 pm in Strathcona Music Bldg., 555 Sherbrooke St. W., room C310. Free.

Faculty of Music:

December 13—Lunch Concert: Contemporary music for flute and clarinet, with Vicki Woolsey and Carolyn Christle, flutes; Richard Chodolak, clarinet. Auditorium (555 Sherbrooke St. W.) Noon. Free.

December 13—Wind Ensemble, directed by Donald Hughes. Works by contemporary composers. Redpath Hall—at 8:30 pm. Free.

December 14—Lunch Concert: Works by student composers. Auditorium (555 Sherbrooke St. W.) at noon. Free.

December 15—Lunch Concert: Brahms Concerto in D major for violin, op. 77 (piano version); with James E. Braid, violin, and Berta Grinhauz, piano. Auditorium (555 Sherbrooke St. W.) at noon. Free.

December 15—Faculty Friday: Gilles Manny, pianist (from the Faculty of Music of Université de Montréal). Works by Schubert, Bartok, Somers. Redpath Hall at 8:30 pm. Admission \$2 (students, 75c).

December 16—Student Orchestra, directed by Eugene Plawutsky. Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf"—English Version. Narrator: Dave Nichols of CBMT. Redpath Hall at 3 pm. Free.

continued on page 22

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Students' Society

OPEN MEETING

There will be an open meeting of the Students' Society on Friday, December 8th at 1:00 P.M. in the Union Ballroom to discuss the affairs of the Society.

by susan wheeler

Stokely barred from Canada

The following statement was written by Stokely Carmichael, former Black Panther and presently with the Committee for the Defense of Black People. He is responding to the refusal of Canadian Immigration authorities to allow him to enter Canada on December 5. The decision to bar Carmichael was taken at a special hearing on Tuesday night at Dorval Airport. Carmichael was on his way to McGill to speak at a taping of the television program "Under Attack". In addition, the Debating Union was to sponsor a speaking engagement on Wednesday night at McGill.

"I feel that the decision made against me was a political decision taken by Canadian Imperialists, who fear the awakening of African people in general and in the West Indies in particular. The alleged conviction took place in 1966 in Selma, Alabama. The law states that my crime was a crime of moral turpitude. It should be clear that this arrest was brought against me by Sheriff Jim Clark under the fascist Wallace regime of Alabama. Since the alleged conviction I have been to Canada many times, and I have never been stopped. Myself and my brother Cleveland Sellers were the only ones stopped, and all other passengers, American citizens, were allowed to proceed without harassment.

"Mr. Trudeau, I put the blame for this humiliating, and inhospitable act squarely on your shoulders. You have decided to use the African Revolution as your political football. As the political consciousness of the African masses and people of goodwill rises, you will not be allowed to continue your hypocritical stance. You are a willing tool and accomplice of Canadian Imperialism in particular and Western Imperialism in general. Your abysmal failure in the last election demonstrated your inability to present clear alternatives to the Canadian People.

"To the Canadian people in general, I would like to say that your government has taken an action not just against Stokely Carmichael, but against the world-wide African Revolution, and against free speech. The government has decided what you shall hear and shall not hear. This is an important step that all governments must take in their drive towards fascism. The Canadian people are usually regarded as a friendly people and not tools of Imperialism. Their just stand on the Vietnam War and their principled treatment to Americans who refuse to fight in a war reeking with moral turpitude is just one of many glaring examples. The

Canadian people must not see this as a case of Canada against Stokely Carmichael but against their right as men and women to listen to whatever they choose to listen to. You must continue to fight to safeguard your hard-won freedom."

The Montreal law offices of Bernard Mergler represented Carmichael at the Immigration hearing on Tuesday night. They were able to clarify the legal technicalities involved in the case.

The Immigration Act allows the exclusion of persons convicted for crimes of "moral turpitude". The Immigration Board claims that Carmichael was convicted in Selma, Alabama in 1966 on a charge of inciting to riot, and calls this a crime of "moral turpitude". Canadian Immigration alleges that Carmichael served a 60 day sentence at hard labour in Selma and paid a fine of \$100. Carmichael denies flatly ever having served time at hard labour in a Selma jail. In addition, it is questionable whether incitement to

riot, even assuming that conviction actually took place, qualifies as a crime of "moral turpitude" in the Selma, Alabama of 1966.

Sources in Mergler's office termed this decision a convenient and unjustified application of the Immigration Act for political reasons. "The provisions of the law should not be used for political purposes."

Carmichael has entered Canada five or six times since 1966 and never before was he denied admittance. His invitation to appear on coast-to-coast television may explain this selective application of the law.

There is a possibility that the Committee for the Defense of Black People will be sending a representative to McGill in January to discuss Stokely Carmichael's exclusion from Canada, and his ideas. McGill students should be prepared to discuss this restriction of freedom of speech and the arbitrary decision taken by the Immigration authorities.

Quebec workers left unprotected

(APLQ)—"One Quebec worker in fifty is seriously affected by work accidents. One in twelve is injured, in one way or another, on the job; and in the construction industry, the proportion of injured is even larger: one worker in five."

This revealing statement is found in the second edition of a booklet entitled *Les accidents de travail: des accidents ou des meurtres?*, published by the CNTU-affiliated Syndicat de la construction de Montréal.

In 1971 alone, 52,719 work accidents were reported in Quebec. Between 1969 and 1971, 658 workers perished on construction projects; 310 suffered the same fate in 1966. Quebec holds the record in this field in Canada, but this sad fact doesn't stop the bosses from openly violating the 86 safety clauses regulating construction projects.

Last November 17, seven workers died, while another was crippled, on the Mont Wright project on the North Shore. Inspectors had visited the site last October 6 and 18 and had recorded no less than 14 infractions of safety norms. But this didn't stop the coroner from affirming that the inquest will not take place for a long time.

Four hundred inspectors are

employed in Quebec to protect wildlife, while only 133 inspectors defend the lives of 165,000 construction workers. In Montreal, where there are about 50,000 workers on about 1,100 construction sites, only 10 inspectors visit sites to ensure that safety norms are enforced.

As for the employers, they regularly pretend that it is the workers who are not careful enough... that the accidents are the fault of chance. Chance is doing a lot of things, since the number of accidents on the construction sites is increasing from year to year. No employer has ever been sent to jail in Quebec for having killed the workers on his site. As a general rule, the employers only have to put up with minimal fines, which are quickly forgotten, and they are

continued on page 10

DAILY STAFF MEETING

What, another one? That's right. 4 pm, at the usual place, to discuss the formation of the Party. Where were you when we needed you, Andrew?



VOL. 62, NO. 55 FRIDAY, DEC. 8, 1972 THREE CENTS



daily photo by Jean-michel Jofre

MORDECAI RICHLER, Canadian novelist and ex-expatriate, took time to attack know-nothing academics Wed. night in Leacock. An appreciative audience of over 400 came to see the new professor of creative writing at Carleton University.

Classes discuss student suspensions

by joan mandell

The Ionis-Wallace suspension story is being discussed in several classes across campus.

Last week, students in Political Science 313D sent a letter to the administration demanding that one of its members come to their class and justify the suspensions.

This Wednesday two more classes became involved. History 202D and Sociology 354D both discussed what actions they would take.

A letter drafted by concerned members of the class was read to History 202D. The whole class voted unanimously against the suspension but some students disagreed with the letter written by the committee. It was decided that any interested student should come forward and redraft the letter to be discussed again today.

The class felt that the administration should not have suspended students for their political views and, further, that it was not even their place to have suspended Ionis and Wallace for non-academic matters.

John Thompson, professor of Canadian History, told his students, who are mostly freshmen, that the administration has great power over them, and after they've been at McGill for a while, they'll realize it. He cautioned them against always obeying orders thoughtlessly.

On the same day in Immanuel Wallerstein's course, "Social Change", students heard of the letter he had received asking him not to admit Ionis to class. He explained that the suspension was not valid and that the professor should not be a policeman for the administration.

The class decided to have a special meeting on Friday outside of class time to discuss writing a letter similar to the one being written by the history class.

by craig toomey

Anthropologists meet

TORONTO—Revolution, racism, sexism and other radical themes were dominant topics of discussion at the annual convention of the American Anthropological Association (A.A.A.), held here last week in the Royal York Hotel.

During the four days of proceedings, anthropologists from North America and other parts of the world, including some from McGill, met to present and discuss a number of papers and films of a varying nature.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the annual meeting was the more relevant, less traditional and even radical nature of the papers and films that were presented by both individuals and groups.

Anthropologists for Radical Political Action, a newly-formed organization, gained more interest and support from fellow anthropologists than ever before.

The group showed a number of stimulating and moving films which helped illustrate how anthropology is becoming increasingly relevant to society. One film depicted the everyday life of a band of "freedom fighters" and their families in Mozambique; another followed the growth of the Aborigine civil rights movement in Australia.

The director of the Mozambique film gave an astounding speech later calling upon anthropologists to stop oppressing the people they study by merely collecting

data from them without returning any "feedback" from the results of their studies. To illustrate how this was possible he related how he and his crew had left all their equipment with the guerrilla fighters when they left Mozambique.

The vast number of stimulating papers that were presented throughout the convention also gave an indication of this new trend that is developing in anthropology. Many were concerned with such issues as the roles of the sexes, marriage, anti-imperialism and communism, racism, revolution and oppression. It was clearly evident that fewer of the more traditional anthropology papers were presented this year.

Among the distinguished anthropologists present at the convention were Margaret Mead, Victor Turner, Paul T. K. Lin and Kathleen Gough. Professor Lin of McGill's Centre for East Asian Studies, read a paper before a packed room on Chinese Education and the Transformation of Consciousness. Dr. Arcand, also from McGill, who is on the Committee for the Protection of Tribal Peoples, presented a paper at the convention, as well.

Machines to replace workers

OTTAWA (CUP)—Machines that replace people are the major stumbling block in the negotiations current between the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and the Federal Government.

The Government has not given the workers written assurance to the effect that no one will be laid off as a result of the mechanization, despite earlier verbal assurances.

CUPW Public Relations Director Bill Kidd told CUP the Post Office plans to mechanize mail sorting to eliminate 23 operations involved in mail handling today. The Postal Workers' Union does not know how many jobs are at stake, or what the government intends to do with the workers who will be replaced by the machines.

Deputy Postmaster General John A. J. Mackay has been quoted as saying "We have to make certain that nobody gets hurt in the change. I could not breathe with that sort of conscience. The Department has a firm plan to meet all redundancy situations (layoffs that may develop both at headquarters and in the field."

Job security is a very crucial issue, since over half of CUPW's members are under thirty years of age.

Government officials have said people replaced by mechanization will be taken care of by the natural rate of attrition through retirements, deaths and resignations.

The Postal workers don't accept this explanation because their membership is so young. Also, the number of people to be replaced is not known, and the high level of unemployment in Canada is not likely to cause

people to quit a job that until now has been fairly secure.

Postal workers are also worried about the mental and physical health effects of the proposed mechanizations. They contend that no study has been done to determine exactly how such mechanization affects workers.

If changes are made, the CUPW would like the Government to change the work hours, so their members will be able to spend more time with their families.

If money is saved by the changes, the CUPW wants the government to use that money to make environmental changes in the work place so the job will be more bearable.

Negotiations have been under-

way since January. The present contract expired March 26, 1972.

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by susan wheeler

Term papers by radio?

Tired of writing exams and term papers? The Twentieth Century hits McGill with an experimental project that may provide the media alternative to the old twenty-pages-double-spaced. Some McGill students currently have the option of producing taped radio programs as part of their course work.

With the technical assistance and equipment provided by Radio McGill, students of Professor Laurier Lapierre of the French Canada Studies Program, and Professors John Thompson and Carmen Miller of the History Department will be producing taped radio programs to supplement the regular course material, in lieu of term papers.

Term papers, no matter how well-researched, usually benefit only the individual student-author. The tapes, on the other hand, will be aired on Radio McGill some time after January, available to the entire McGill listening community. In addition, the tapes will be used in the courses concerned.

The project is still in the experimental stage, but Wojtek Gwiazda, who is coordinating the project for Radio McGill, is optimistic. He sees the Canadian History series being joined by other departments—Political Science and Sociology, for example.

Radio-McGill members will not exercise any editorial control. They will merely provide equipment, sound effects, music, and

technical advice. The format of individual programs depends on the content and will probably take the form of debates between controversial interpretations of history or dramatic presentations of events. The major objective of the Canadian History series, according to Gwiazda, will be to provide an alternative to the regular course content. "The courses I took in elementary school made me hate History, but it doesn't have to be that way," he said.

So far, there are 10 to 15 students involved in the program. Any students or faculty members interested in this new approach to the old grind, should contact Radio McGill for further information.

MFU appoints delegate to CNTU

Pauline Vaillancourt, Professor of Political Science, has been named delegate of the McGill Faculty Union (MFU) to the Conseil Central des Syndicats Nationaux de Montreal (CCSNM). The CCSNM is made up of trade union representatives from all professional groups in the Montreal region. Vaillancourt will represent the MFU at the Council's monthly meetings and will be the MFU's link with the CSN.

Vaillancourt will be replacing Michel Pelletier as delegate to the CCSNM. Professor Pelletier was an associate professor at McGill's School of Social Work until September 1972.

Vaillancourt has been an active member of the MFU since its founding in 1969, was one of the organizers of its current recruitment campaign for more members among the faculty, and presently holds the office of Secretary of the MFU.

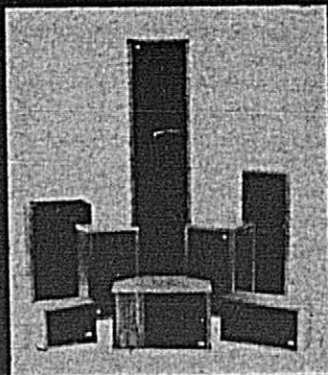
The MFU is a trade-union of members of the McGill faculty, affiliated with the Council of National Trade Unions (CNTU-CSN) and the Federation Nationale Québécois (FNEQ). Even though it is not officially accredited and therefore does not have a collective agreement with McGill University, it has functioned effectively in representing faculty interests.

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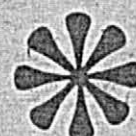
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Editorial

The deportation of Stokely Carmichael

The deportation of Stokely Carmichael from Canada last Tuesday came as no surprise to those who are familiar with the policies of the Canadian Immigration Department. It is no accident that the detainee at Dorval Airport happened to be a person like Carmichael—a black activist, an advocate of black unity throughout the world.

The voice of the oppressed is indeed threatening to those who day in and day out live upon the exploitation of millions of people, black, brown, yellow, red, and white alike. And Carmichael, while his political position inclines towards black racism, which we do not support, in a very real sense represents the revolt of oppressed people.

The case of Stokely Carmichael is by no means unique. The list of people whom the Canadian government has tried to force out of the country under one pretext or another is very long.)

Rosie Douglas, a black activist from the Caribbean, is now fighting a deportation case. So is Subir Roy of the CPQ(M-L), who has lived in Canada practically all his life. A Vancouver member of the CPC(M-L), Fred Ferdman, has already been deported for throwing leaflets on the floor of Parliament and having the audacity to shout "Down with U.S. imperialism" in those hallowed halls.

Occasionally, the watchful machinery of the Immigration Department goes a little haywire. Samuel Delany, an American science fiction writer, was prevented from

crossing the border to speak at McGill last year. No reason was given, although it is likely that the fact that Delany is black and dresses unconventionally had something to do with the decision.

Istvan Meszaros, a "Marxist scholar" and a 1956 refugee from Hungary, was also barred from entry by the ever-vigilant immigration authorities, even though he is harmless enough for the York University administration to offer him a teaching position.

The list goes on. Humberto Pagan, the Puerto Rican "independantista" leader, is now caught in the tangled maze of Canadian immigration procedure and American deportation appeals.

And then there was the case of Ed Hogan, a former Black Panther Party member, who while appealing against deportation in Toronto a few weeks ago, was kidnapped by immigration officials and turned over to the FBI.

On the other hand, Dmytro Kupiak, a proven war criminal who collaborated with the Nazis in the Ukraine, was not only protected by the federal government when the Soviet Union demanded his extradition, but was even allowed to run as a Progressive Conservative candidate in Toronto-Lakeshore during the last election.

Apart from the political bias of the Immigration Department bureaucrats in the cases of individuals, there is the long-standing racist discrimination against immigrants on the basis of their national origin. This racism,

sometimes overt and sometimes covert, has manifested itself throughout Canadian history—against the Chinese and Japanese after their usefulness in the age of railroad building was over; against Jews during the Hitler years; and against people of Indian and Pakistani origin today.

The mass deportation of a planeload of Indian visitors immediately after the federal elections, on the grounds that "Canada doesn't want to be taken for a sucker by unscrupulous operators who prey upon the fears of potential immigrants", is open racism. So is the recent crack-down on "backdoor immigrants". This "new" policy is possibly intended to assuage those who objected to the welcoming of the Ugandan Asian refugees.

The point of this editorial is not to seek justice from the Canadian immigration authorities. If the society itself is rooted in injustice and discrimination, the only way to assert one's rights is by politically struggling against the vulturist system that thrives upon such discriminations.

Canada, an ally of the US imperialists, seeks to preserve its capitalist structure by keeping the territory safe for exploitation by the American investors. A world-wide struggle against the US global domination is a necessary condition to end political victimization and economic exploitation of the oppressed people of the world.

Nesar Ahmad
Arnold Bennett

letters

Reply to certified bullshit

Sir,

The *Plumber's Pot* editors have once again exhibited their bigoted attitude towards those who differ from their arbitrary standards. Their most recent issue included several attacks on homosexuals in general, and the Gay club in particular.

On page 2, I find again a spurious letter to Dr. John asking for his advice on oral genital techniques among males, (i.e. fellatio). One wonders where the editorial staff of the *Pot* got their information. However, I feel that they should be thanked since there are certainly some "closeted" homosexuals who will swallow this information with avidity. At the same time, if they are

going to print a homosexual sex guide I should like to ask them to print a heterosexual one as well. To get serious for a while, the statement from the editors saying that they meant their sexual and racial slurs humorously certainly does not excuse them. The slurs do remain.

The attitude expressed by Mr. J. Fowler is, I hope, not representative of the Engineering students. If it is it says very little for the liberality of this faculty, and labels them as rather narrow minded bigots.

Regarding Mr. Martone's article I should like to refer him to the Webster's dictionary; Perverse: deviating from what is considered right or acceptable, perverted, hence (2) wicked.

While I am sure that no homosexuals will argue that they do not differ from the accepted norm... they would argue that they are not perverts (i.e. wicked.) Thus we are arguing with Mr. Martone's semantics rather than his

statement. We also argue with his contention that any group of students at McGill should be refused funding, and recognition as a club because certain other groups do not like what they stand for. The Students' Society does not condone homosexuality, all they are doing is affirming the right of any McGill student to be represented in any activity group that he/she wishes. They have shown their liberalism by granting a budget to the GAY club and by allowing the rights of the individual to be recognized. They are not supporting in any way the aims of the group. In conclusion, I feel that again the *POT* has shown itself to be an irresponsible, bigoted, and decided-reactionary paper.

C.P. Ormos

Lantos—the modern Ecclesiastes

Sir,

Ecclesiastes, a wise man, once said that there is nothing new under the sun. As if history has

not sufficiently documented his case, our very own *McGill Daily* appears bent on making a contribution. The argument the *Daily* tries to peddle in its "Anti-Semitism and Zionism" editorial of November 15 is the kind of stuff that has kept the cyclical view of history going strong throughout the ages.

The contention that Jews and Zionists are separate groups of people, and that anti-Semitism is a bogus issue used by the latter to enlist the support of the former is devious enough to merit a refutation.

The *Daily* would have us believe that, to prove the need for her own existence, Israel welcomes anti-Semitism in the Diaspora and exaggerates its magnitude. Thus, Zionists instill the fear of persecution in the Jewish community and use that fear to "drive Jews (to quote the *Daily* quoting one William Zukerman) to Israel.

So, if you have been taken in

by Zionist propaganda, which claims that Israel is the last refuge of a tormented and barbarically oppressed people, now, for the first time, the *McGill Daily* brings you the true picture. You see, anti-Semitism is an ingenious Zionist plot. It's a kind of false consciousness, a macabre fantasy, which the Zionists use to dupe the unsuspecting Jewish masses into making aliyah.

Those Zionists—you've got to hand it to them—they sure plan ahead! This may come as a surprise to some of you, but the brutal harassment of Jews in Arab countries, the appropriation of property, denial of civil rights, expulsion, etc., were all Zionist inspired acts. And not just for the last few years, mind you! It's all been in the works for centuries, ever since Arab rulers decided that a Jew was not quite as good as a Muslim. Could it be...no...one shudders to think of it...and

continued on page 10



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Founded in 1911.

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 McIntyre Medical Building (4th floor)
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A

MERRY CHRISTMAS
 FROM
 YOUR ACADEMIC,
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 AND SCHOLARLY
 NIGHT GALLERY.

FACT OR FICTION?

1

You should avoid exercise during your period.

Fiction! The simple rules of good health are always important, especially during your period. Exercise, a proper diet and a good night's sleep go a long way toward relieving menstrual cramps or preventing them altogether. And remember, you're not "sick." So there's no reason not to follow your normal routine.

2

There's no odor when you use Tampax tampons.

Fact. With Tampax tampons, odor can't form. Odor is noticeable only when the fluid is exposed to air. With Tampax tampons, fluid is absorbed before it comes in contact with air; therefore, odor cannot form.

3

You should not bathe during your period.

Fiction! Contrary to superstition, water can't hurt you. Daily baths or showers are a must throughout your period. Shampoo your hair, too. And don't deny yourself the chance to go swimming. Tampax tampons are worn internally, so you can swim anytime.

4

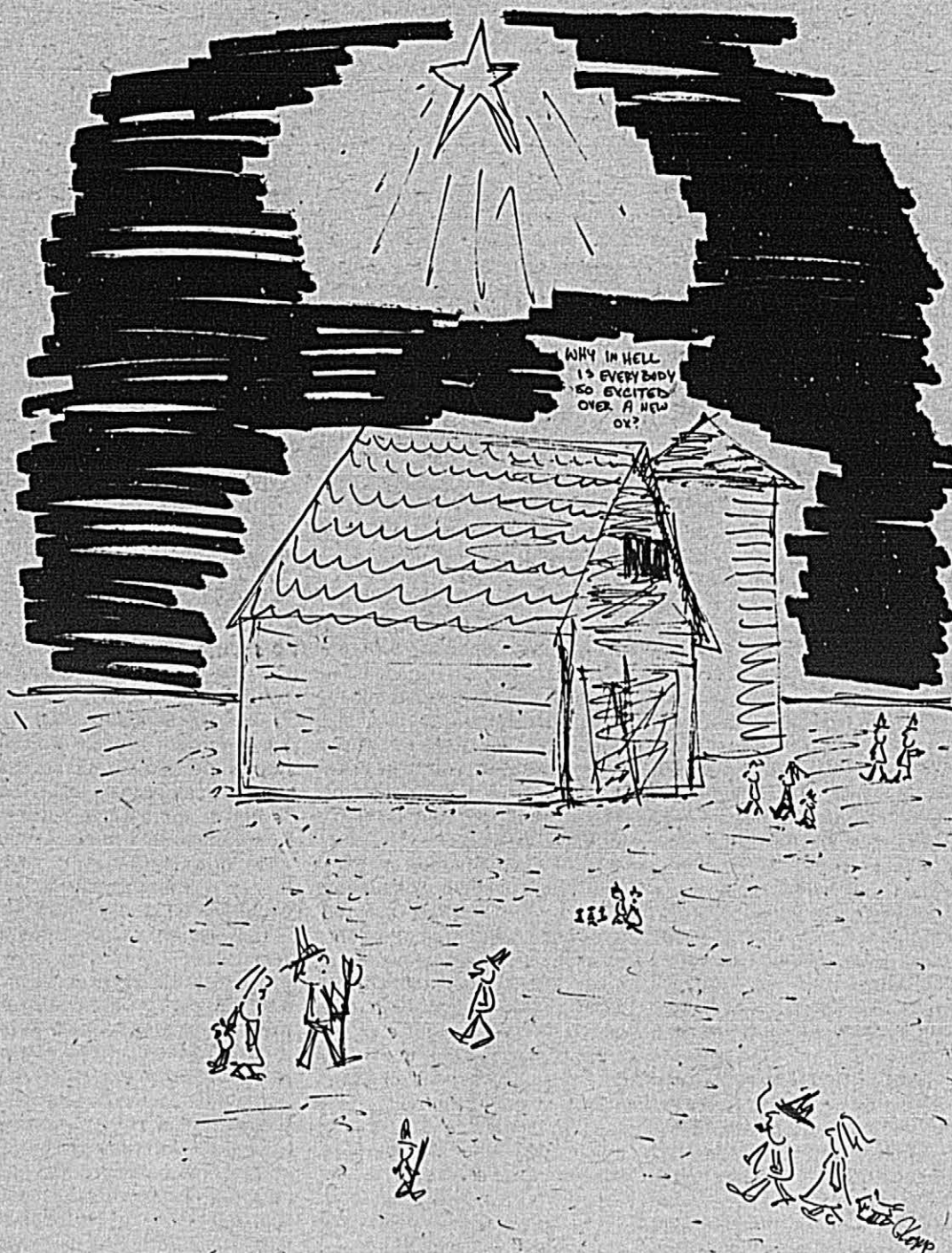
Single girls can use Tampax tampons.

Fact. Any girl of menstrual age who can insert them easily and without discomfort, can use Tampax tampons with complete confidence. Follow the easy directions in every package.

Our only interest is protecting you.



DEVELOPED BY A DOCTOR
 NOW USED BY MILLIONS OF WOMEN
 TAMPAX TAMPONS ARE MADE ONLY BY
 CANADIAN TAMPAX CORPORATION LTD.,
 BARRIE, ONTARIO



A newly discovered letter

translated by
Sheldon Goldfarb

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McGill University

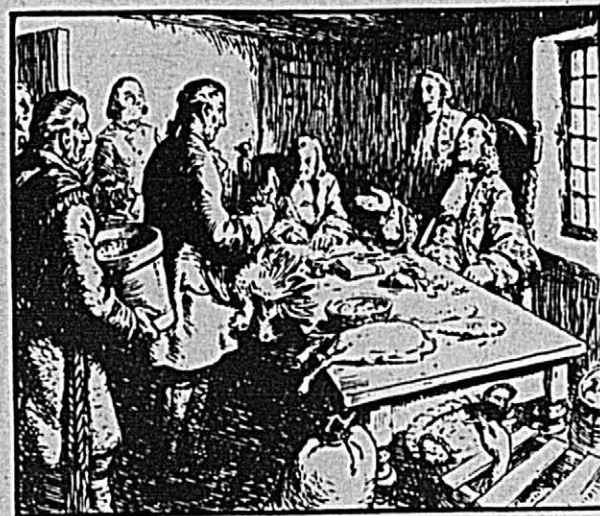
24 November, 1700

My dearest cousin,

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As I look out now at the freshly fallen snow blanketing my seigneurie—for snows come early and heavily in this country—I am much touched by your deep and evident concern over my well-being in this New Land. Your letter is most especially welcome because I have had little contact with the Old Country in these latter years; most members of my close family there have now departed for the great seigneuries of our Lord in Heaven. I was thus very happy to receive your letter and to learn the news you related therein.

Equally happily, I can inform you that your concern over my



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CW. JEFFERYS

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It has been... (here one line is smudged and illegible—S.G.) ... that the life of the censitaire is very comfortable. Many stories have given this impression, which is one we seigneurs should like to have generally accepted.

The Canadian censitaire, these stories tell us, is independent and free; he lives in gaiety and rude plenty (whatever that means) as long as he works hard and is not lazy; he is not oppressed, especially compared with his French counterpart; he pays low dues; he is on an equal level with the seigneurs; there are no class distinctions or extremes of wealth; the government and the judiciary act in everyone's interest, most often protecting the censitaire from seigneurial abuse; the censitaire is generally contented, etc.

You rightly ask how I can find life profitable if the censitaires are so well off and pay me minimal dues. If such were indeed the

case, I would, of course, find it not profitable at all; and some reports would have it that we seigneurs are suffering greatly. We are, they say, mere settling agents, struggling to make ends meet, while our tenants are most comfortable. We are impoverished, with no power, while the censitaires prosper and fashion the style of life here. (That is the most extreme version: that our underlings are better off than we; usually, the story is merely that everyone is equally poor or equally comfortable.)

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greatness of our sovereign Louis (the fourteenth of that name) can be made known—for all these reasons, in all these respects, life here is different.

But the differences are, in truth, minor and do not bother us. Here, as in France, we run the land system in order to get a good life out of it. The venture is actually very profitable (although even to you, I dare not reveal the exact figures). We accrue wealth through the cens et rentes, the lods et ventes, a limited amount of corvée (which, however, falling in the busy sowing, haying, harvesting, and ploughing seasons, is still remunerative), the banalités, a rent for the common pasture, the fishing dues, and so forth. All these dues are as those in France, although you have some others that we do not.

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There is the horrendous climate, for one thing. The winters are overly long and harsh; and it may be just my impression, but it seems that the summers are hotter here, bringing with them a monstrous curse of black flies and mosquitoes. The climate prevents the cultivation of pears and peaches, and these used to be my favourite fruits; I must now content myself with apples and plums.

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too little inclined to things spiritual. Our late Governor Frontenac was quite right in saying they are more interested in converting beavers than souls.

The religious orders control education as well, and this has resulted in an emphasis on training for the clergy, to the neglect of all else. It is a sorry thing, but my sons have very little of the classical education so necessary for any gentleman.

In one respect, though, the clerical influence is all to the good. That is in their forbidding printing presses. This keeps out subversive literature and checks the spread of such ideas, although the spirit of indocility is nonetheless rampant among the censitaires. The isolated instance I cited is really but one of many. For instance, the censitaires are given to singing the most outrageous and seditious songs imaginable; there is a great deal of disrespect; many have run away; and there have been uprisings on occasion, requiring firm action by troops or even, unhappily, minor concessions. We have never, as an example of the latter, been able to impose the *taille*; one such attempt caused a near riot, and we gave it up. The *corvée* has also brought forth protest, as has the quality and price of merchandise. And you probably know about the demonstrations against church tithe, which forced them to be cut in half and applied only to grain.

We are compelled to use force and concessions alternately to maintain some semblance of order. It is not true, you see, that the censitaires are quite content, but we try to make them so—by force, if necessary.

Myself, I am more or less content. There are, of course, the qualifications which I have just outlined. But I have not done too badly here. St. Martin's Feast is just past, and the capons, the wheat, and a great many *livres* have come in. No one this year refused payment, and I foresee a pleasant profit. And this is without even considering my revenues from peltries.

It is not true, certainly, that every seigneur here is extremely rich; but neither is every seigneur in France. Some always do better than others; I, myself, have done well. Which is not to say that I always did so well. When I first started, I just scraped by, as I had only 20 tenant families, and they had not cleared much land; also, my newly built stone mill was not yet paying for itself. Further, I had not even one *Pani* house slave then, and had not yet engaged any indentured carpenters, wheelwrights, or the like. Also, there was much less cattle then; there were few crops besides wheat; and there was much less fishing. What was most humiliating was that my *château* had just been begun and had little of its present luxury, so that it looked almost like a censitaire's cabin. Now, of course, there can be no mistaking what it is.

Even with my advances, however, there is still room for improvement. I have land of two leagues width on the St. Lawrence and of equal depth (about 23,000 acres—S.G.). My 56 tenant families occupy only one-

fourth of this and have cleared only one-half of that. Of course, some of the uncleared land is too marshy to be of much use, but there is still plenty of good land that could be put into production. Then, again, there is not as much need to expand now as before, for my annual income of several thousand *livres*, while it could be raised (I am sure Le Ber, for one, makes at least twice as much), is sufficiently large to make for a pleasant life.

I see that I have written at great length and yet have not inquired about your health and your family's. Pardon me, but I was so keen on setting you aright on these crucial matters that I put all other things in the background. If you should be wondering about my family, know that they are all well.

And now I must end off, for my wife tells me there is to be a ball tonight, despite the Jesuits, in... (the rest of the letter, including one more paragraph and the signature, seems to have been written hurriedly and is completely unreadable—S.G.)

POSTSCRIPT

This letter, of course, was never written by any Canadian seigneur, but I believe it could have been written if any of them had wanted to reveal the true state of affairs in New France.

Did the Canadian censitaires suffer heavy burdens and resulting poverty? Did the seigneurs have economic privileges? Were the government and the judiciary tools of the seigneurs and others (merchants, clergy) in the ruling class? Was there discontent among the censitaires?

Stanley Ryerson, in *The Founding of Canada: Beginnings to 1815*, and Gustavus Myers, in *A History of Canadian Wealth*, both argue in the affirmative.

Ryerson lists all the dues, showing that they were burdensome exactions for the censitaires. They were also "lucrative sources of finance" for the seigneurs. By 1700, 90 seigneurs were being supported by 18,000 indentured servants and censitaires (not counting seigneurial revenue from the fur trade). Many seigneurs also kept *Pani* house slaves.

The censitaires suffered many hardships. Myers, for instance, cites Intendant Raudot talking about "heavy rents and dues...for although 30 *sous* appear but a trifle, it is a great deal in this country where money is scarce." Ryerson notes the soaring prices. Myers points out that there were many beggars in the colony; in 1676, an ordinance was passed prohibiting all begging without a license.

The *Titles and Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure*, in return to an address of the Legislative Assembly of 1852 shows that land grants to seigneurs were huge. Common were those of one and four square leagues (about 6000 and 23,000 acres); but some were as big as 120 square leagues.

Ryerson describes the many protests of the discontented cen-

sitaires over their burdens: protests against *corvée*, banalités, high prices, high tithes, and taxation. Montreal saw a riot in 1680, and there was an armed uprising in 1728.

These protests, Ryerson says, were usually put down by the "armed forces of the absolute monarchy", which were meant to maintain respect for "feudal and merchant-capitalist property". The government, he adds, "represented the combined general interests of feudal absolutism, clericalism and merchants' capital." An example of the sort of justice found in such a regime was the severe punishment of one Paul Dupuy for voicing approval of the English Revolution. Further, it was very convenient for the seigneurs that they were empowered to sit in judgement over their own tenants in the seigneurial courts to force dues payments.

Myers notes that mere expressions of "resentment, contradiction, ingratitude, or scandal" were liable to punishments, including confiscation of lands, and "obedience to constituted authority was maintained by branding, lashing, shackling, mutilation and by prisons, the galleys, burning and hanging."

Contrary to what the standard histories say, there was little difference between the lot of the censitaire in Canada and that in France. One book on 17th-century France lists the dues payable there, which were almost identical with those in Canada, and concludes that "what remained of feudalism in seventeenth century France was still oppressive."

The standard histories generally argue against the position of Ryerson and Myers, but even they resent revealing information and make revealing admissions.

W.B. Munro notes that it was several of the seigneurs who "had the most influence in the little administrative circle at Quebec." Francis Parkman cites an accusation that the members of the Sovereign Council were "allied to the chief families and chief merchants in Canada, in whose interest they make the laws." R.C. Harris notes that "some of the most influential men in the colony were seigneurs."

Harris also gives interesting figures showing that seigneurs with 50 censitaires could make several thousand *livres* from their seigneuries, even after allowing for expenditures on the mill (and there were at least a dozen seigneurs, he says, whose "seigneuries could have been very profitable"). Many censitaires, on the other hand, just scraped by on what they produced (walking "a narrow line between a meagre living and starvation"), while even the better-off ones were lucky to make a few hundred extra *livres* in sales.

But Harris still claims that "many seigneurs were no better off than their censitaires and nowhere were there those extremes of wealth...There was little economic basis for class in Canada." And "a habitant and his family were able to live comfortably...periods of hardship were exceptional."

Harris eventually works himself into a corner by pointing out that *coureurs de bois* made little money, but that many censitaires

still fled to the woods. Thus, "the attraction of the fur trade for so many habitants is not easily explained", unless, of course, the censitaires were not really that comfortable on the land.

Parkman says, "Canada was not governed to the profit of a class." He adds that the seigneur was powerless and that the intendant took the side of the censitaire. He talks of "the impoverished seigneur" and the well-off censitaire, citing an 18th-century report that "one finds no rich persons whatever" and a statement by Intendant Duchesneau in 1679 that "such of the labouring class as apply themselves steadily to cultivating the soil not only live very well, but are incomparably better off than the better sort of peasant in France." Another historian cites a 17th-century traveller's comment that the censitaires were "on the level of the nobles themselves."

Munro claims that "dues and services...were not burdensome". Also, the seigneurs were "not a privileged order", and the censitaire "was well behaved and gave the authorities little trouble." He even paid his tithe "with exemplary care." (He claims this despite everyone else's acknowledgement of the protests that forced the tithes to be cut by half.)

D.A. Heneker repeats, "While the nobility of the Colony were often struggling and poverty-stricken, the habitant...lived in comparative comfort." (One may agree that some of seigneurs did poorly, but what does that prove about the position of seigneurs as a whole? That some business men today go bankrupt does not prove that the bourgeoisie as a whole is worse off than the workers.)

B. Sulte, C.E. Fryer, and L.O. David also hold that the "lot of the habitant was not an unpleasant one", even though they admit the "general poverty of the habitants as a class."

W.J. Eccles follows every old deception of the standard histories and also invents a few of his own. The censitaires were better off than their French counterparts, and the seigneurial system "had much to recommend it". He even claims that land grants were not large. He adds that dues were not remunerative to the seigneur, nor a burden to the censitaire (it should be noted that he misstates the value of the banalités as one-fortieth of the grain milled instead of one-fourteenth).

Also, says Eccles, "the habitant was well off; it was the seigneur who...had a hard-time to make ends meet." (It is interesting, though, that he reports the salaries of indentured servants to be at most 90 *livres*, while government officials were paid as much as 24,000.)

Eccles admits authoritarianism, but says that the government had the interests of the people at heart ("human rights were more important than property rights"); there were even "representative" assemblies like the Brandy Parliament: an "assembly of 20 leading residents of the colony, involved in the fur trade". He concludes that "the great mass of people had no desire for self-government; were quite incapable of it even if

continued on page 25



letters

continued from page 6

yet, well, you never know with those Jews...er...I mean Zionists...maybe, just maybe, Moses himself was in on the plot.

And that folks, is just the beginning. You all know, of course, about the Jewish comrades in the Soviet Union, and how the Zionists are trying to kidnap them from their native bliss. It's public knowledge that ever since the Zionist "instigators"—some even joined the Party and rose to prominent positions, only to sabotage the masses—ever since they were lynched in the purification witchhunts of the various Soviet and Eastern European Peoples' Republics in the '50's and early 60's, the remainder of the Jewish population has been deeply grateful to the executioners.

And the Spanish Inquisition—decimating the Sephardic Jewish Community and forcing the survivors into exile. And the gory pogroms of Czarist Russia. And the rulers who decreed, not too long ago, that Jews may not own land or hold public office in most European countries. And that Dreyfus affair. Or, closer to home, that cry of "maudit juif" taken up with such relish under the regime of Maurice Duplessis, who some may still remember. And Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay, embracing the assassins of 6,000,000 innocents up to this day. Or Idi Amin, ordering his army and police to shoot any Israeli on Ugandan territory on sight. Zionist agents all of them, of course.

Not to mention the most sinister scheme of them all, a plan so astute and fiendish that only an army of Shylocks could have cooked it up. Brace yourself, because, yes, it's true: The Zionists were behind Nazism, they put Hitler in power (there is some evidence that Hitler himself was a Zionist, but that's still inconclusive), and all this, just so they could lure Jews from all over the world to Israel, by making it too hot for them to live anywhere else. It was the Zionists who designed the gas-chambers and all the other atrocities. It was they who murdered their own fathers, mothers, children and best-friends, they who gang-raped their terrified women, used their own beloved as guinea pigs, they who massacred the greying grandfathers and the starving babes. It's all there in the *McGill Daily*, if you don't believe it. "In Germany itself, the Zionist movement thrived during the first months of the Hitler regime", is how Messrs. Ahmad and Sher put it. History books may not agree, but then—you guessed it—Zionists wrote them, turning history on its head, as it were.

Cunning people, these Zionists, single-handedly forging the history of the world. Who'd have ever suspected that they were so powerful. Maybe it wouldn't be such a bad idea to drown them in the sea after all. Maybe terrorism and indiscriminate murder is the only

way to deal with such warped types. If such thoughts have crossed your mind, don't worry, you are not a racist. What you really are is an anti-Zionist, and that's O.K.

Sophisticated as it is, the Ahmad-Sher theory of anti-Semitism is going to be a bit difficult to sell to some people. I fear that my own uncle, for instance, will never take kindly to it. Having been a sonderkommando in the death-chambers of Mauthausen, privileged with the task of extracting the gold teeth of the dead and then handing the booty over to his Nazi guards to postpone his own execution, he is probably convinced that it was the Germans who were responsible for the genocide, and the other European nations—Stalin's Russia included—who shared the guilt through complacency.

As a matter of fact, I am constrained to say that I don't believe the Ahmad-Sher theory myself. The unparalleled suffering of the Jewish people during the holocaust weighs upon the consciousness of every Jew alive today. Contemporary Jewish experience is shaped by the memory of the holocaust and its lessons, the chief one being that, when it comes to a crisis, the only real ally a Jew has in the world is another Jew. Thirty years ago, the whole world condemned Jews to death. Some took an active part in implementing the sentence while others watched. But no one, neither the liberal democracies, nor the Marxists went out of their way to save the Jews.

If I were not a Jew, and if I could remain cold to the anguish of my parents' generation, I might be content to debate this issue by the gentlemen's club rules of the left-liberal intelligentsia. As it is, I felt only nausea when I read the *Daily's* arguments, the nausea one might feel upon discovering that, not satisfied with torture, maiming and murder, the assassins dug up the graves to chomp on the limbs of the dead.

Tell me, my well-informed editorialists, every time I've encountered the fangs of anti-Semitism in my own life, was it always staged by Israeli agents? The time, for example, when I was in second grade in Hungary, and I got into a fight with a classmate who called me, for the first—but not last—time in my life, a "dirty Jew"? In the course of the bout the shape of his mouth was slightly altered, and the following day, he and two friends took their revenge, setting upon me after school and chasing me all the way home, regaling me with a variety of reasons why a Jew is better dead than alive. This, by the way, occurred on the streets of a socialist country where, as you know, there is no racial discrimination.

How do you account for the times I was charged with the murder of Christ, with hoarding gold, and simply referred to as a Jewish "gringo", day in and day out, when I was all of 12 and 13 years old, in Montevideo, Uruguay? How about the innumerable times that the four of us who were Jewish in my school had to walk home together to protect ourselves from daily thrashings at the hands of rabid street gangs whose idea of

entertainment was to beat up a couple of Jews? How about the time my history teacher in grade eight—still in Uruguay—called me an insolent Jew when I talked back to her? And the times when I saw pamphlets littering the streets, proclaiming that it was the Jews who were to blame for all of the country's problems? How about the year of mini-pogroms—1962—when Jewish girls could not walk on the street by themselves for fear of getting kidnapped, raped, and mutilated? How about the relative of a friend of mine, a 16-year old girl who had the honor of being initiated into sex by three members of Montevideo's Nazi Youth group, who forced her into their car at gunpoint, vented their sexual frustrations on her for 12 hours, after which they signed off by carving a neat swastika on both her thighs with their switchblades, and then left her unconscious in a park? By the way, these are not horror stories excerpted from a book on medieval tortures. I saw them happen. There were incidents like this one at least once a week for nearly one year. The police never caught the culprits, primarily because they had no intention of catching them. It wasn't only that Nazis were more popular in Uruguay than Jews—which they were—but, the police force, (as it turned out, after a group of Jewish vigilantes caught three of the hoodlums in action), had some cross-membership with the Nazi organizations. Today, none of my relatives, and none of my friends remain in Uruguay. They have all emigrated to Israel, along with tens of thousands of other young Jews from all over South America.

How would you, Messrs. Ahmad and Sher, explain these phenomena? Are they all part of a gigantic fantasy? Or did the Shin-Bet stage them to convince me of the reality of anti-Semitism today?

Or could it be, rather, that it was not Israel that created anti-Semitism but anti-Semitism that necessitated Israel? Could it be that the commitment to Israel and the awareness of anti-Semitism is so deeply engraved in the consciousness of Jews throughout the world that there is no need to persuade them of anything? Does not, for example, the fact that our own McGill University had a strict quota on Jewish students until not so long ago speak for itself? (There were no similar prohibitions against any other ethnic group).

To say, as the *Daily's* intrepid analysts do, that "Zionism has almost a vested interest in racial discrimination to prove its point" is mocking the millions of martyrs of pogroms, crusades and concentration camps, and that Messrs. Ahmad and Sher, is going too far. And to suggest that Israel stages border incidents to keep world Jewry on its toes, is to imply that Israel's Arab neighbors, who still outnumber her 50 to 1, wish for nothing but peaceful coexistence. If we follow your logic through, it's obvious that Fatah and Black September are also on the Zionist payroll.

Ahmad and Sher, like most people in chic left-wing circles

these days, would like to distinguish between two kinds of Jews. Bad Jews—the Zionists—and good Jews—the non-Zionists. This distinction is necessary for their purposes, because unflinching anti-Zionism is in vogue these days for all self-respecting leftists. But the possibility that the whole of world Jewry is united behind the Zionist ideal—i.e., Israel—is a source of discomfort to them, as that would clearly make them anti-Jewish. A few years ago you could still get away with that kind of stuff, but these days, in the more enlightened milieu, straightforward anti-Semitism is definitely gauche. This is where anti-Zionism comes in handy.

The Ahmad-Sher logic follows a familiar pattern. By isolating the good Jews from the bad Jews, it implies that it's all right to hate the latter. These days, you see, you can't just say that you want to wipe out an entire ethnic group, and you can't support anyone who does so without losing your credentials. You have to make believe that really, what you are opposed to is a specific ideology, and that that ideology is not held by an entire people. If you have a few Uncle Toms—in this case Jewish anti-Zionists—lots of rhetoric about imperialism and colonialism, you are all set.

Fortunately, as the Six Day War, and before that, the War of Liberation in 1948, showed no Jew in his right mind no matter which corner of the earth he inhabits is about to abandon Israel to her own means, much less turn against her. One hundred years ago Zionism was a remote dream in the minds of a handful of Jewish intellectuals. The return to the Homeland was a fable in the Torah. Today, the dream stands realized, and Zionism and Judaism have become one. The national liberation struggle of the Jewish people, crowned by the creation of the State of Israel, achieved that. Thus, objectively speaking, Messrs. Ahmad and Sher, regardless of your subjective sensibilities, to be an anti-Zionist in 1972 is to be an anti-Semite.

And here is where Ecclesiastes comes in. All that has changed since 1939 is the wording. The essence, however, remains the same. Instead of a "Jewish problem", we now have a "Zionist problem". Like they were about the Jewish problem, many people are terribly concerned about its successor, and have demanded the most urgent and drastic solutions. The Mediterranean has been called upon to finish the job the gas-chambers didn't complete, while some "progressive" intellectuals formulate the theoretical justifications for the new massacre, and the others look the other way. Plus ça change, plus ça reste le même.

Robert Lantos

Ed. note: The point of the editorial has been missed by the authors of this letter and of other letters that we have received in response to our editorial. We never claimed that Zionism has created anti-Semitism in the Western world. What we did claim was that Zionism thrives in an anti-Semitic atmosphere. Zionism is a racist doctrine, and through its own racist posture tries to counter racism against the Jewish people. In this sense, Zionism is a parallel ideology to anti-Semitism.

The anti-Jewish sentiment in the Middle East, however, has been a direct outcome of Zionist colonization of Palestine. Historically, Muslims and Jews lived together without any pronounced degree of friction between them. What changed the pattern of relationship between the two peoples was the attempt to establish an exclusively Jewish State. This entailed the displacement of the local population. It is this fact that has created anti-Jewish feelings amongst the Arabs. Zionism, in this case, has clearly been responsible for souring relationship between the Arabs and the Oriental Jews.

Construction...

continued from page 3

easily absolved from guilt by the judges of Quebec.

But the root of the problem rests in the very structure of the market of the construction industry. In the words of an expert: "Irresponsible enterprises, whose lack of cooperation in this field is motivated by the simple fact that tomorrow they will not be entrepreneurs anymore but landlords, is the cause of high number of avoidable accidents" (1962) and "There are 7,500 persons who call themselves construction entrepreneurs in Montreal; of this number only 400 are solvent" (1971). This expert is none other than Jean Cournoyer, the present Minister of Labour.

The government, for its part, well deserves the critique that some make of it: the judges and

ministers, the true friends of the bosses, lightly regard the lives of the workers.

Of the rest of the parties concerned, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation contributes to perpetuating the anarchy that reigns in the construction industry: in 1970, \$440 million in contracts were given to private enterprises by the CMHC. This body does not even bother to find out who (the contractor or the subcontractor) will really carry out the contract. In Quebec, this has produced the Abeilles, Versailles, and Sutton projects, among others, all of them well-known for their bad construction.

When one considers these conditions, it is perhaps not a cause for astonishment that the unions intend to demand complete control over safety on construction sites for their next collective agreement.

This article was translated from Agence de Presse Libre du Québec by Arnold Bennett.

At U du Q

Students boycott registration

by Julian Sher

Students at the Université de Québec à Montréal are currently boycotting registration for the winter semester, in protest against the administration's demand that all outstanding debts for fees be paid by February 15. The demand is part of a new policy of Quebec universities, to be officially enacted next September, which will force students to pay all their school fees for one term in a single payment.

The Department of Education recently decided that it would allot its grants to the universities not on the basis of the number of students registered, but according to the number of students in good financial standing with the university.

The change in policy will not have a significant effect on McGill. "The government is starting to get tougher," said a university official, "but we were always tough about people being paid up."

But U de Q, a so-called "popular" university set up by the government in 1968, has traditionally been more lenient in its fee policy.

Until recently.

In mid-October, the administration began laying the ground for its new policy. In order to pressure students to pay their fees, ID cards became necessary for use of library and other facilities. Registration for the winter session was impossible unless all debts had been paid by November 8. Student protest forced the deadline to be postponed until February 15.

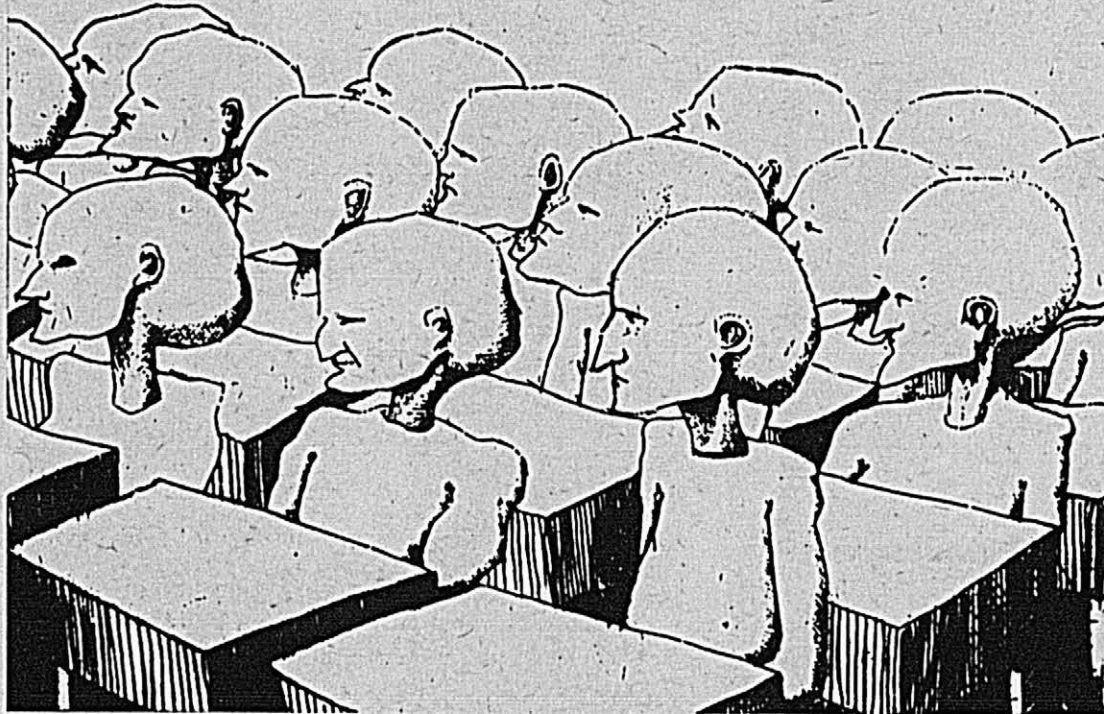
Of U du Q's 11,649 students, 9,500 owe the university less than \$250, 1,583 owe between \$250 and \$500, and 561 are in debt for over \$500.

Students met to plan action against the administration's tactics. They set up a temporary committee and called for a general assembly on November 9.

From the beginning of the struggle, conflict developed between students who saw it in limited terms of a fight with the administration, and those who sought to place the struggle within the broader political context of the university's role in society and the other repressive measures sweeping Quebec.

Within two weeks, over 4000 students signed a petition calling for the acceptance of all students who wanted to register in the winter session without any "economic limitations" and the immediate removal of the need to have an ID card to use the library.

At the same time, however, leaflets distributed by some members of the temporary committee to publicize the general assembly



went much further by noting the other repressive measures being taken in the schools (such as the Nouveau Régime Pédagogique in the CEGEPs), and by stating that it was "absolutely necessary to maintain a student organization which must continue to pose problems in political terms: which social class suffers from repression, which class gains from repression." Other members of the committee felt the leaflets went too far, and opposed their distribution.

At the November 9 general assembly, some 600 students voted for an amelioration of the fee policy, and mandated a Comité d'Organisation Provisoire des Etudiants (COPE), to:

- research and generate debate on the role of the university in society
- study the role and possible forms of a student organization at U du Q
- resist "any attempt at repression on the part of the university administration".

The committee was to take action if the administration did not respond to student demands by November 13. Three days went by after the deadline before the administration openly rejected the student demands, but most members of the committee hesitated to act in the interval. A meeting was finally called for Monday, November 20.

The delay, however, impaired the success of a systematic boycott of registration, since registration was scheduled to begin that Monday.

At a weekend strategy meeting to prepare for the Monday general assembly, many members of the committee again hesitated, and despite the committee's clear

mandate, they did not want to suggest a means of action to fight the administration's repression.

Some members of the committee disagreed with this policy, however, and in a leaflet which they printed on their own because of the COPE's refusal to do so, they called for a systematic boycott of registration. The leaflet also discussed the myth that U du Q was a "popular" university, and termed the administration's attempt to force complete payment of fees as one of the many "measures of selection and repression that reserve access to university to a privileged minority". Administration proposals were seen as "bonbons" to pacify students and to forestall a serious questioning of the role of the university in capitalist society.

At the November 21 general assembly, those committee members who had been hesitant to act met with a serious rebuff, as students voted to reject the responses of the administration and to boycott registration. Committees were to be set up in the different *pavillons* of the university, to work on the boycott and to begin a study of all measures of selection in the university.

Organizing of the boycott began the next day at some of the Pavillons where registration was already under way, although some of the COPE members still wanted to discuss the boycott issue all over again.

It was decided to concentrate all efforts on Pavillon Road, where from Wednesday to Friday about half of U du Q's students were to register.

The boycott was successful. Students gained support from university personnel involved in registration, and from the

teacher's union. (Strikes by university workers and teachers in previous years have received strong support from the general student body at U du Q). More than 4000 students respected the picket lines. During the week, there was much discussion on the picket lines, in classes, meetings and cafeterias on the nature of the university. At the same time, the administration issued several communiqués in an attempt to neutralize the student action. The administration warned that "the

students themselves would suffer the consequences" of their actions, that their choice of courses would be subsequently limited, and charged that the boycott was the work of an irresponsible minority of students.

A setback in the struggle occurred on November 29, when an unusually poorly-attended general assembly passed a proposal to register, (and to pay the \$7.50 registration fee) but not to pay the tuition fees. However, much of the support for this proposal came from students who had already registered, and, in essence, it was what the administration was urging as well. This still leaves the problem of the debts and the February 15 deadline unsolved.

Student support for the boycott was still strong, however, as shown by the decision of students from six out of eleven masters programs, on November 30, to condemn the administration for its fee policy and to continue the boycott of registration.

As if the administration's hands weren't full already, its decision two weeks ago not to renew the contracts of 55 professors has sparked an immediate call to action from the strong teachers' union at U du Q.

With the prospect of fighting both students and teachers in the upcoming winter months, the future of the administration at U du Q looks bleak.

spuq - information

Journal du Syndicat des professeurs de l'université de Québec à Montréal

Mediolan. December 1972 = Volume 2 number 1

55 non-renouvellements

ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE SPECIALE MERCREDI

[illegible]**Classification et non-renouvellement**

Il s'agit donc de 55 ans-révisions des contrats sociaux signés par les entreprises adhérentes de l'AFVAB, présente une nouvelle offre d'engagement et de professionnalisme.

Enfin, il faut lire les conclusions du séminaire du SPVUS sur l'état d'avancement de la consultation qui ne fut pas au nombre de 17, mais, merci à la presse, de 18.

Une fois la question des non-révisionnistes, le constat s'impose. Lors de la réunion du 26 novembre, il s'agissait de commencer une réflexion globale sur les besoins éventuels de l'AFVAB (projet de loi, de décret, règlement) tout sur la adaptation au statut et à la gestion des instruments et de la classification et de la mise en place des procédures. On a traité à la suite de l'admission des professeurs.

Une fois ces questions résolues, une certaine indépendance est requise. Les professeurs de l'AFVAB sont présents lors de 17 révisions générales qui ont lieu, de 12 à 18, mais, surtout, ils sont, il faut le dire, présents de 12 à 18.

[illegible]

« Une première... »

mes. En fait, l'ère
 de l'effacement, que
 pour commencer à lui s'écou-
 ler, que l'ensemble des
 professeurs des sciences

Si seulement nous réussis-
 sions à prouver tout
 ce que la science apporte à
 l'humanité, nous ne pour-
 rions pas nous en vanter

professeurs
 "Surtout nous, les
 sciences, nous ne pou-
 vons pas nous en vanter"



LE DIRECTEUR DES DOUANES partage l'une des Fraîcheurs de la grande métropole. André Sarrasin, Directeur des Douanes, est un homme d'affaires et un homme de bien. Il est le premier des douaniers à avoir été élu député. Il est le premier des douaniers à avoir été élu député. Il est le premier des douaniers à avoir été élu député.

André Sarrasin, Directeur des Douanes




LE RECTEUR LES BONAIS partage l'avis de l'ex-doyen de la gestion académique. André Baroan Cahuzac a déjà souligné que l'université vive à un rythme de haute école de professeurs à plein temps - permanents - et de plus en plus de spécialistes occasionnels de l'enseignement. *Le Monde*, 22 mars 1990, p. 12.

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GAGNON: Le parti prolétarien

by Arnold Bennett

Charles Gagnon has written a book.

(At this point some of you may say "so what" and throw the *Daily* away. Others of you may ask: "Who's he?")

Who is Charles Gagnon? To those of you who obtain your information on the Quebec left from the commercial English-language media, he may be just another "FLQer." Some of you may even recognize him as the shadowy other half of the Vallières and Gagnon duo of FLQ thinkers who were kept in jail without trial from late 1966 to 1970 and who were jailed again, along with so many other Québécois, during the War Measures Act. If you read the newspapers in 1968, you might remember the demonstrations demanding freedom for Vallières and Gagnon, who were probably the most famous genuine political prisoners in Quebec's contemporary history prior to the War Measures Act reign of terror.

Vallières and Gagnon had brought Marxism to the FLQ, which up to 1966 had been an "organization" with no ideology but nationalism. In late 1966 they were arrested in front of the United Nations building in New York, where they were trying to present the case for Quebec independence. They were extradited to Canada to face charges of murder arising out of the La Grenade shoe factory bombing. The prosecution's case was feeble, but the judicial system managed to keep Vallières, a journalist, and Gagnon, a former Université de Montréal sociologist, in jail without bail until early 1970. During that time Vallières wrote and revised his autobiography and political statement, *Nègres Blancs d'Amérique*, which is now required reading for most courses on contemporary Quebec, and which was finally translated into English in early 1970.

Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon were arrested again during the "October Crisis" and became showpiece prisoners along with labour leader Michel Chartrand, FLQ lawyer Robert Lemieux and broadcaster Jacques Larue-Langlois. They were all released in February 1971.

At this point the paths of the two inseparables diverged. Gagnon, who had been fully acquitted of the La Grenade charges, decided that FLQ terrorism and elitism had been disastrous for the Quebec revolution. He began to develop the belief that a workers' party with a clear Marxist-Leninist line was essential, and he took



a job organizing a program of working-class political education for the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

Vallières, however, decided to "go underground." He finally emerged from hiding in December 1971 and leaped from a terrorist position to one of reformism—he renounced his old ways in a long thinkpiece, entitled "The Lessons of October 1970," which was published in full in *Le Devoir*, and in a new book, *L'Urgence de Choisir*, and he declared that all good Quebec revolutionaries should eschew Marxist dogmatism and join and work within the Parti Québécois. Within a short space of time Vallières was formally, if cautiously, welcomed into the PQ by René Lévesque. The charges against him were either dropped or reduced, and when he was finally sentenced, the sentences were nominal warnings calling for a promise of "good behaviour." He even apparently got back into the good graces of his old Citélibriste associates, Trudeau and Pelletier, for he landed a spot on the federal payroll, "working with the workers" in Mont Laurier. At this point diehard West Island residents began to write apoplectic and outraged letters to the *Star* and the *Gazette*. Unlike the government, they did not realize that Vallières was no longer a threat to the system. And so, as recently as a few weeks ago, Vallières was meeting with a kaffeeklatch of French-Canadian businessmen and chiding them about "poverty." The article made the front-page of the *Montreal Star*, and the irony of the

situation was too much even for the headline writer. I haven't seen any outraged letters about Vallières lately.

Meanwhile, back at the CNTU building, Gagnon's position on the need for a workers' party was gathering clarity, as he engaged in long and arduous debates with Maoists, Trotskyites, Péquistes and social democrats. Animosity evidently developed between him and Michel Chartrand, the President of the Montreal Central Council of the CNTU, a strong-willed nationalist and socialist whose position was full of contradictions which he did not bother to resolve. Chartrand, like Vallières, took the position that all progressive Québécois should work for independence first, through the instrument of the PQ, and worry about socialism later. He dismissed Gagnon's distrust of the PQ as "unrealistic." Gagnon, on the other hand, regarded Vallières (and probably Chartrand) as "opportunistic."

Gagnon was not "purged" by the CNTU. He was not even fired. But when his one-year contract expired in June 1972, he was not rehired. His political work was handed over to his assistants, who, according to one source, "didn't have a clue."

During the next few months Gagnon began to work with a group of militants called "L'Equipe du Journal", whose goal was to publish a newspaper which would not only report on the workers' struggles and on the repressive practices of those in power, but would also clearly formulate the interests of the proletariat, with the aim of developing a "veritable

proletarian line." He also continued to engage in rigorous debate, both with his colleagues at *Le Journal* and with other elements in the Quebec left.

His book, *Pour le parti prolétarien*, was published on October 17, 1972. The views reflected in it, according to Gagnon's introduction, are the product of these "numerous and frequently difficult debates" and are thus "not the product of the isolated reflection of an individual militant."

The book should really be called a pamphlet, since it is only 47 pages long, but it is the first clear published statement by Gagnon of his position. Unlike Vallières, he is not a prolific writer.

For Gagnon, nationalism and social democracy are threats to the future of the workers' movement in Quebec. "The nationalists are seeking to infiltrate everywhere, preferably at the level of leadership, from the unions to the least developed popular associations. Their political credo can be summed up like this: political independence first, the rest after! Now, the 'rest' is precisely the class struggle, the revolution, socialism."

He then attacks the position of the so-called "left of the PQ", according to which "the workers' movement, today without a party, should unite with the Parti Québécois." This position, he says, is "absurd: in default of a workers' party, one must content oneself with a bourgeois party."

He points to the neocolonialist consequences in "independent" African states where the people are now paying "for having put

faith in the pretensions of their bourgeois nationalist leaders who, often supported by the very imperialist powers from which they were pretending to liberate the 'whole nation', objectively did nothing but play the game of imperialism, which had decided to put an end to the social agitation in the colonies while preparing the way for the development of monopoly state capitalism in the regions which had been submissive to it and which had to stay that way."

Gagnon gives Senghor's Senegal and Tombalbaye's Chad as examples of "formally independent" countries which are still controlled by French imperialism. He points to the struggle in Guinea-Bissau against Portuguese colonialism as one that has a real chance of resulting in national liberation.

Another example of the danger of trusting in nationalists was Germany, where, according to Gagnon, thousands of social democrats supported Hitler's "national socialist" party, wrongly believing that they were "joining the ranks of a formation essentially devoted to the interests of the whole people while it pretended to recapture the honour of the nation." These social democrats, and important segments of the working class in Germany, were fooled by promises of "work for all."

Gagnon's message, carried into the context of Quebec, is that you can never trust a bourgeois party, and that nationalists are the most dangerous bourgeois: "less powerful, they will have to be more repressive."

Maurice Duplessis, for example, a great nationalist like his predecessors Papineau, Mercier and several others, taught us things which must never be forgotten. At Murdochville, at Asbestos, at Louiseville, at Valleyfield, and elsewhere and always, he defended the 'nation' against Ottawa and against the workers, his two principal enemies, all the while comfortably relying, particularly at election time, on his best friend, American imperialism, which he had to let out to pasture in return on a large part of the Quebec north and several other 'morsels' of mines and forests!

Maurice Duplessis had been elected on the basis of a programme, the *Catéchisme des électeurs*, which, in many instances, went further than the *Quand nous serons vraiment chez nous* of his spiritual heirs, Lévesque and Parizeau. Like them he had succeeded in drawing in behind him a good number of progressive elements, which he quickly disposed of as soon as he attained power.

continued on page 23

Ed. note: The following article is reprinted from the National Review, a right-wing journal. While we do not agree with everything that is said in the article, we go along with the suggestion that the liberals are denying facts when they refuse to admit the existence of the American imperialism.

By J. Bernard Burnham

Those who ostensibly address themselves to the crucial issue of the day, "why Vietnam?" generally fall into one of two camps: those who are explaining why we should "get out" and those who are explaining why we should "win". Excepting the more extreme members of each group, it is usually difficult to elicit an exact definition of what is meant by "getting out" or "winning". It is only on the more immediate and tactical level that they tend to become more specific and explain why we should or should not bomb, negotiate or recognize the Vietcong. In the meantime, the formal object of the inquiry, "why Vietnam?" has become lost in the concern for the immediate.

A slightly deeper analysis of the question is attempted on relatively rare occasions. There are those who introduce the falling-domino theorem, sometimes along with the threat-of-China corollary, but these advocates seldom go further and explain why these propositions should mean so much more to us than to El Salvador or Iceland. The "get out" crowd, in all its various guises, is similarly unsatisfactory. Their basic responses, after all the protective rhetoric is stripped away, are "we are led by incompetent and power-blinded generals and politicians" or "we are victims of our own illusions."

That is quite a list, indeed, if it were the generals and politicians who got us into Vietnam. It includes every chief of staff and President for the past fourteen years, and for accuracy's sake should also include all their beribboned and high-powered advisers. I find it hard to believe that our ruling elite has deteriorated so disastrously in so short a time.

Those who belong to the "illusion" school usually blame "blind anti-Communism" as the motive force behind our commitment. Bernard Fall once pointed out that the first Marines went ashore at Danang in 1945, seizing the governor and vice governor of the province in an attempt to halt the execution of a French Catholic bishop. Whatever

the rationale for this act, it couldn't have been blind anti-Communism.

Just what is it that brings a nation to the point where it sends an army 600,000 strong halfway around the world, at a cost of billions of dollars a year, to fight a war for a small half-nation? The answer for a country with the political institutions of the United States cannot be found in evil or incompetent leaders.

A Pacific Power

The answer to "why Vietnam?" can be found in the logical and coherent pattern that connects the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, our annexation of the Philippines, Commodore Perry's coercion of the Japanese government in 1853, and the presence of U.S. Marines in Danang in 1945: The United States is a Pacific power. To some men, such a statement is a truism, incapable of explaining the here and now. But this easy dismissal is responsible for more irrelevant verbiage on the question of Vietnam than any other single factor. The fundamental implications that flow from the

fact that the United States is a Pacific power do much to explain why we are where we are, and how we got there.

For the United States, like most of the truly great imperial states in history, power has been acquired despite our intentions. We did not consciously seek the capability of destroying a goodly portion of the world any more than we sought the ability to feed the entire subcontinent of Asia. We do not consciously seek to dominate the solar system any more than we sought to become the supreme power of the Pacific Basin.

But the question of whether we have sought power or whether it has been thrust upon us is irrelevant. We possess it, and with that power comes complications. Powerful nations, like powerful people, get involved, and they get involved whether they like it or not. Two examples come to mind.

In 1898, almost accidentally, Admiral Dewey sank the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay. Suddenly, the United States was faced with the classic dilemma of the world power: if we withdrew from the scene, other powers would fill the vacuum; if we

remained, we would have to assume responsibilities far graver and more delicate than entered the minds of those who gave the Admiral his sailing orders. Many of today's historians suggest that our response was to "grab the Philippines" and add in parentheses, "to our eternal shame." More perceptive writers recognize the complex and compelling forces that led to our annexation.

Consider a more obscure case. In 1934, under the Silver Purchase Act, the U.S. Treasury became obligated to make heavy silver purchases at artificially high prices. The result was to drain China of her silver, adding to the serious deflationary pressures in that country and ultimately driving her off the silver standard. Chinese resentment of this Act, whatever its original intent, continues to this day.

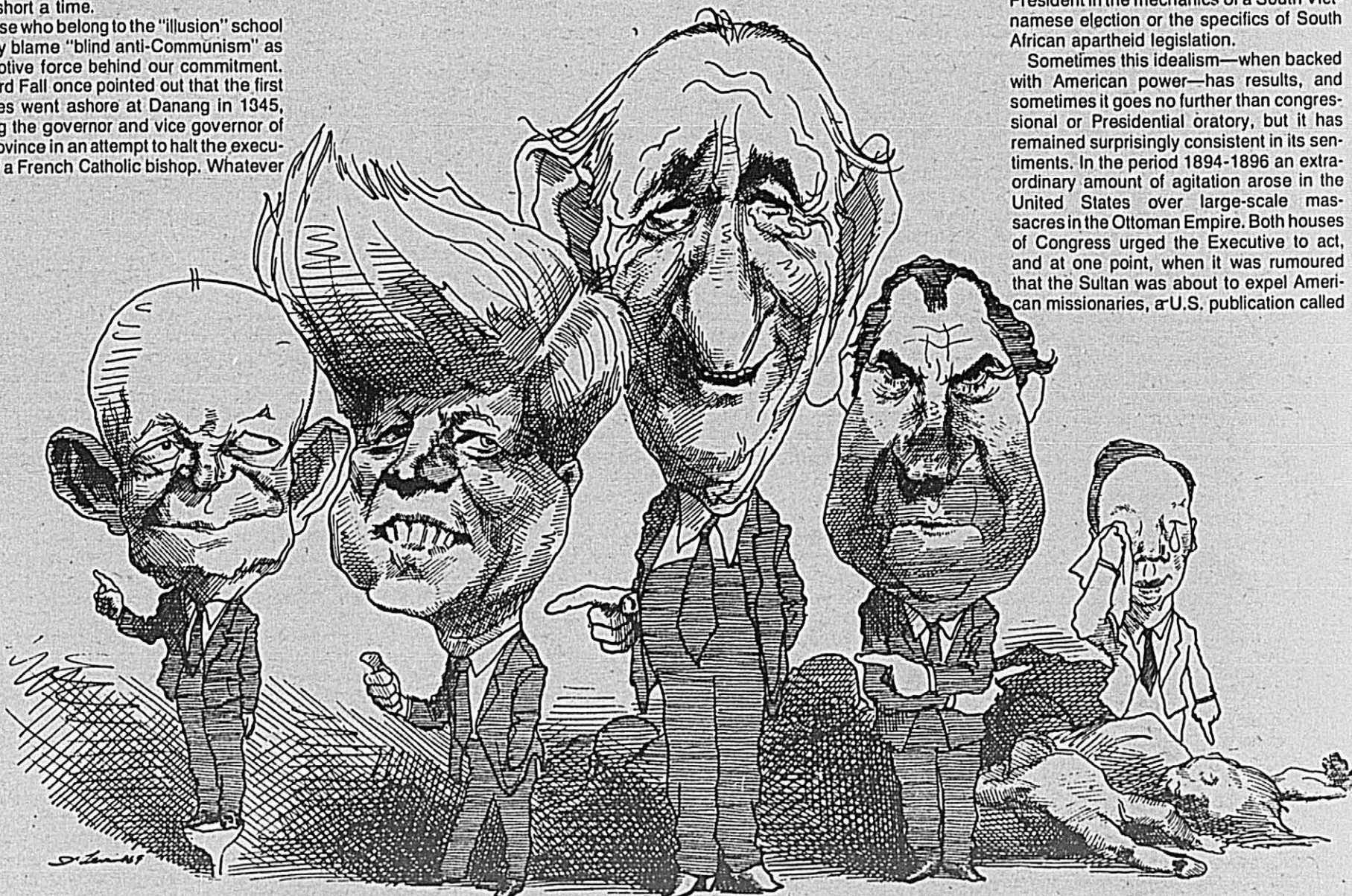
Getting Involved

Powerful nations, particularly those like the United States, are repeatedly drawn into exercising their good offices and their force of arms on behalf of distant peoples. The Russo-Japanese War was ended in 1905 by a treaty signed at a naval base in New Hampshire. In 1950 the United States went to the aid of South Korea, a country excluded from our publicly announced defensive agreements.

Perhaps the primary dynamic ingredient which leads to American involvement on distant shores is American idealism. You can rattle off half a dozen doctrines and slogans, such as "freedom from aggression", the Stimson Doctrine, the Open Door and "self-determination", which derived most of their public support and not a little of their original inspiration from the ideals of the American tradition. I, for one, think very little of the mythology behind these ideals (how many slaveowners voted for the Bill of Rights?), but we should never underestimate their power to influence the course of American action abroad. This idealism explains, for example, the intense interest of American press, public and President in the mechanics of a South Vietnamese election or the specifics of South African apartheid legislation.

Sometimes this idealism—when backed with American power—has results, and sometimes it goes no further than congressional or Presidential oratory, but it has remained surprisingly consistent in its sentiments. In the period 1894-1896 an extraordinary amount of agitation arose in the United States over large-scale massacres in the Ottoman Empire. Both houses of Congress urged the Executive to act, and at one point, when it was rumored that the Sultan was about to expel American missionaries, a U.S. publication called

What liberals don't understand about imperialism



for our government to protect these men in their "work" and, if necessary, to spend its last dollar and call out its last soldier for that purpose". I find little difference between the origin of these sentiments and those behind the words of John P. Roche, a former chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, who has stated, "I am not prepared to turn fifteen million South Vietnamese over to the Communist terror regime in Hanoi."

The propelling force of American idealism is personified by statesmen such as Woodrow Wilson and John Foster Dulles. Although their attempts to impose an ideal moral world-order were notably unsuccessful, both men were responsible for immense extensions of American power and responsibility throughout the globe. By sending troops to Europe, Wilson shattered the restraints imposed on American foreign policy since Washington's Farewell Address, no matter how hard he tried to make the distinction between "allies" and "associates." By constructing a chain of alliances that circled the world, Dulles formally placed the United States in the position of a "super-power". Not surprisingly, the public pronouncements of these two men, as well as all authoritarian accounts of their lives, continually stress the pervasive influence of idealism and religion on their actions.

A remarkable and contemporary expression of the expansive force of idealism is found in a recent book, *The Obligations of Power* by Harlan Cleveland, currently U.S. Ambassador to NATO and a former Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Cleveland sounds like an updated version of Woodrow Wilson when he observes:

"The interests of the United States are global, and that is good fortune for all the world's people, and most of their leaders...our policy is to make the world safe for diversity."

Our Own Empire

Having admitted idealism is a key ingredient in the dynamic nature of American power, it is profitable to return to the question of power and involvement. If you interpret the word "empire" properly, most reasonable men admit that America has in fact acquired an immense empire. Our military bases, "binational cultural centers", foreign aid administrators, Peace Corps contingents and satellite-tracking stations encompass the world. Our government's economic decisions—how much we will pay for an ounce of gold or a pound of coffee, how many apple pickers from Canada or field-hands from Jamaica should be permitted to harvest our crops, the terms on which we dispose of our agricultural surpluses and mineral stockpiles—can and do affect almost every country in the world. Our schools and universities are besieged with applicants from other lands. American businessmen and financiers play critical roles in the development of other countries.

Yes, despite the overwhelming mass of evidence, there persist among us those who would flatly deny the existence of an American empire. To Senator Fulbright, such a notion is "romantic nonsense" and "arrant imaginings". To Fulbright an American empire calls to mind such slogans as "manifest destiny" and "making the world safe for democracy". But this is where the Fulbright position collapses: The American empire is not a slogan or an abstract idea. It is a fact, although until very recently we have left it to our friends and enemies abroad to emphasize this point. The Senator and others (but not the more serious students of imperial histories) have been led astray by the apparent paradox



that empire has been achieved with a set of policies that have generally been the opposite of Imperial. In the same breath, Harlan Cleveland can protest that American foreign policy "is the opposite of empire" and still affirm that it is "to make the world safe for diversity". Any nation, which is going to "make the world", be it Red, diverse, fascist or Christian, has signed up for a considerable piece of the action.

A more moderate position comes from those who ask us to avoid "an absent-minded drift to unwanted empire". The problem here is that our good intentions consistently bear more fruit than is ever wanted. We wished to free the Cubans from the harsh rule of Spain—and acquired the Philippines; a successful attempt to halt Japanese aggression in the Far East resulted in General MacArthur ruling Japan; in trying to persuade the North Vietnamese to leave their southern cousins alone we are assuming a protectorate over Thailand. Perhaps the solution to "drifting" would be to make the captain and his navigators more aware of the current and tides through which they are passing.

This brings me to a fundamental point in the analysis of "why Vietnam?" An essential ingredient in the thought of all those who oppose our current presence in Vietnam is the assumption usually left unstated, that the United States can pick and choose the time, place and form of its interventions abroad. In criticizing President Kennedy's statement that the U.S. "is the watchman on the walls of world freedom", a task "imposed by destiny rather than choice", Ronald Steel rejoins that this role "is imposed by ourselves and subject to whatever limitations we choose to put upon it...no task of global omniscience is imposed upon us that we do not choose for ourselves."

The fact of empire has certain consequences, one of which is that people turn to us for help, whether it be to feed their starving masses, to shelter their citizens from the effects of natural disasters, to help balance their budgets and balance of payments, or to protect them from aggressors. Our role is compounded by the fact that beyond the spheres of Chinese and Russian influence, our empire literally covers the earth. Throughout this immense empire people are continually turning to us for help in solving their own (sometimes insoluble) problems. The extent of our response is usually dominated by the fact that we are in a position to help, rather than by hair-splitting considerations of whether or not we should help. As President Johnson put it, reluctantly and somberly, "We did not choose to be the guardians at the gate, but there is no one else."

The "guardians at the gate" concept might be expanded by those who want to develop a realistic and convincing rationale behind America's role in the world. There is a desperate and universally felt need for a coherent, believable and dynamic political formula that will accompany America's involvement in world affairs. The litany of "free elections" and "self-determination" is not enough. Having deluded ourselves about the importance of the mere mechanics of liberty and justice, we have sought to foster our illusions on others, a process which facilitates our involvement in their affairs but which cannot provide a coherent, believable basis for intervention.

It is rather ironic that it is the great liberal verbalists who have done so much to destroy the earlier political formulas which accompanied Western involvements throughout the world—"manifest destiny", "carrying the white man's burden", the "civilizing mission", and anti-Communism—who feel this need most

intensely. I can recall the spectacle of a bright young college professor denouncing our role in Vietnam before an audience of several thousand students, and almost simultaneously confessing in anguish that the liberal political formula for involvement in the world was indeed "bankrupt".

The abandonment of the older political formulas, in particular the abandonment of anti-Communism (which served relatively well despite the lack of explicit positive foundations) has made the proper exercise of power more frustrating than ever for the United States. The charge by men such as Theodore Draper and J. William Fulbright that the United States has used its power in an erratic and frequently misguided manner has more than a little substance behind it. Power applied without an adequate political formula is erratic, capable of bruising and bewildering friend and foe alike, and leaving those on whose behalf that power is wielded uneasy, if not positively confused.

Only a consistent policy can be a truly successful policy, and only an adequate political formula can furnish the framework that is going to make consistency possible. A consistent policy founded on a believable political formula reduces the need for the use of force, permitting national objectives to be achieved without committing the full power and prestige of the country to every crisis.

What is needed is a political formula that will reflect the virtues, vices and dreams of the American people.

This is not a call, as some might charge, for a cynical arrangement of the psychologically appropriate phrases that will coalesce support for American foreign policy. It is not cynicism to try to find the common denominator that impels American youth to join the Peace Corps—or to volunteer for an additional year's duty in Vietnam: that motivates our Executive to propose and our Congress to approve a foreign-aid program, the likes of which the world has never seen; that motivates American businessmen abroad to accept rates of return on their investment that local entrepreneurs would never consider; that moves American citizens to help save monuments on the Nile and paintings in Florence.

The preceding paragraphs imply a certain inevitability to the course of American foreign policy in the Pacific, as well as elsewhere. Viewed in the light of the essentially unconscious growth of American power throughout the world, it is hard to deny that change for the United States has meant expansion. This expansion has occurred despite a conscious desire on the part of most of our leaders that it not take place. Ours is indeed a reluctant empire—but not the first in history. The challenge inherent in our expansion is to use our acquired power wisely and well. We have assumed, whether we like it or not, entangling alliances, written and unwritten, throughout the world. To deny that these alliances, obligations and responsibilities exist is to play the ostrich; to remain ignorant of the forces that have brought us to our current position is to confess an incapability to provide that vital, crucial political formula which will guide our actions and explain them to others.

This is the true tragedy of Vietnam. We are engaged in a bloody and costly conflict because the forces which have made us a Pacific power have driven us for the second time in fifteen years onto the Asian mainland and yet we are deprived, by our own intelligentsia, of any coherent rationale for this massive expenditure of men and money. The intellectual challenge of Vietnam is clear and pressing: Find the political formula that will give expression to the fundamental drives so clearly at work.

Indians refuse to be moved from tribal land

In March 1972 most of the Montagnais and Naskapi Indians who had lived near Lac John for 15 to 18 years moved to the new Matimekosh reservation, located within the municipal limits of Schefferville in the Nouveau-Québec region near the Labrador border.

Thirteen families flatly refused to move to Schefferville. They have, on several occasions, demonstrated their wish to continue to live at Lac John.

The Indians give several reasons for their refusal to live on the Matimekosh reserve. First of all, this reservation project has been presented to the Indians as the solution to all their problems, while in reality, the reserve is situated on the shores of a lake polluted by the sewers of the town, and several new problems have arisen out of its creation. The Indians are now benefitting from running water and central heating—which should have been accorded 18 years ago to all the inhabitants of the old reserve—but they will not accept being assimilated by white society. Almost all the Indians agree that individual houses should have been constructed on the old reserve site, rather than apartments in Schefferville which are basically fragile and poorly soundproofed 'bunkhouses'.

On October 11, 1972 the Indians of the Lac John reserve wrote to Jean Chrétien, the Minister of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. This letter takes on the characteristics of a manifesto, since it expresses the firm will of the Indians to refuse integration into

white society. The text is based on concrete and precise grievances against the Ministry—there is the question, for example, of the \$5.50 which the Lac John Indians have to pay for drinking water, the maintenance of roads and the collection of household garbage. There have also been direct and indirect threats to the Indians remaining at the old reserve of possible expulsion and suspension of services.

The following extracts from the manifesto were taken by Agence de Presse Libre du Québec from the Indian newspaper Akwesasne Notes and were translated for the Daily by Arnold Bennett.

We are firmly determined to stay where we are, because we believe that we live on the territory of our ancestors and that any attempt to dislodge us would constitute a violation of our most basic rights.

We do not want to leave Lac John to be integrated into the Town of Schefferville. A certain idea of liberty and a certain concept of nature cause us to think that we are closer to them here than at the new reserve of Matimekosh, situated within the municipal limits of Schefferville.

Having said this, we do not think that we should be obliged to explain ourselves on this subject, for in that we are living in a so-called democratic country, we certainly have the right to continue living at Lac John which is scarcely three miles from the centre of the town. Nevertheless,

we will try to explain.

We want to make it clear first of all that most of the adult members of our community work, several since many years. They contribute therefore to the payment of taxes, which not only makes them full citizens but also guarantees them the public services to which every Canadian has a right, including the unemployed. As for the other members of our community, they are involuntarily unemployed. One of them is 12 years old; another saw his hunting grounds confiscated by the province 18 years ago to the profit of Iron Ore; another, the poorest of us, is the one who furnished the decisive proof which permitted Iron Ore to exploit the iron ores on his hunting grounds. He has clearly never profited from this situation. In any case, we will continue, as often as we can, to go to the forest, to find the real reasons for living and being happy in these places. Above all we will remain Indians, that is to say, the direct descendants of the first Americans to inhabit this continent.

We, the real Indians, symbolize all those who are dead because of the European wars and diseases. We represent those who, in often indescribable sufferings, lost their hunting grounds and were shunted off into enclosures called "reservations". And that, whether you want it or not, is your responsibility. This is why it is our right to require that the Indian Affairs Department take responsibility for road maintenance, for the supply of drinking water, for garbage collection, without there being the threat that these services will be interrupted if we do not accept your decisions without discussion.

Formerly we did not need to be supplied with "potable water" for all the waters which surrounded us had never been polluted; we did not need "the upkeep of roads" for we used age-old ways; as for "household wastes" they never caused us problems—reduced to a strict minimum they did not bury the housewife at the end of the day. For long years you have stubbornly refused us running water, and today you would like to seduce us with these commodities, making believe that "civilization", as a way of life and thought, is transmitted through running water and central heating. Therefore, it is not that we reject so-called modern commodities—our near ancestors of Quebec's northern forest used the "sauna" well before the Europeans learned to take

showers—but we do not wish that they provide the occasion for integration into the city. We believe that the Indians were attracted to the city by lures (running water and central heating) when these services could have been furnished at Lac John. Indian Affairs makes us think of the trapper who leaves a nice piece of meat in his trap in order to catch an animal ignorant of the fate that awaits him. Well then, in this affair, we would like to be as wily as the wolverine, who destroys the trap first and then takes the bait.

We would like to know how the province of Quebec can require that human beings, standing on their own feet on their ancestral lands, can be forced to move? How can this be possible, when land is distributed free to farmers who want to go to Abitibi? How is this possible in the light of present trends, at a time when protests are swelling against the James Bay Project? What do they want of us, what do they expect from our few acres of land, when we have lost everything! How can one think of expelling people who live on land which has been declared useless for mining by Iron Ore and which has been ceded for 99 years to Indian Affairs by the Province of Quebec?

It seems to us, Mr. Minister, that there is matter for thought there: either the land is destined for another use that is being hidden from us, like, for example, an eventual use as real estate for those Whites who would want to live outside of the city, as is common in all the cities of the world; or the land is not destined for anything at all and they only want to discourage us from living there by discontinuing all public services, in order to facilitate our "integration" and our "assimilation". It would be ironic if things went that far. Pierre Gabriel, a member of our community, knows it well, for the little land we occupy is part of his former hunting grounds. Would it not be scandalous to chase away, by pressure or legally, someone who lives on the hunting land of his ancestors and who, dispossessed a first time because of mineral exploitation, would be dispossessed a second time by the very people who pretend to protect him, the civil servants of Indian Affairs?

You speak to us, Mr. Minister, of dwellings which we have never asked for and which we don't want. Why are we being forced by moral pressure today (and physical tomorrow?) to move?

How can your department decide our fate on its own authority, without consulting us? Would anyone dare order 97 Whites to go live in the City of Montreal, when they wanted to stay in Saint Laurent? Would it not create a public scandal if, following their refusal, their water and electricity were cut off?

You speak to us also in your letter of an "isolated hamlet" and of the cost of the services which must be provided there. That leads us to speak of two families (one of 8 children and the other of 7) who live in our community without having Indian status. In fact, the two women are Indian and they have married, one to a métis, the other to a white. These two families, unable to benefit from any of the services to which Indians have a right, will be able to live in an "isolated hamlet" without anyone making any protests.

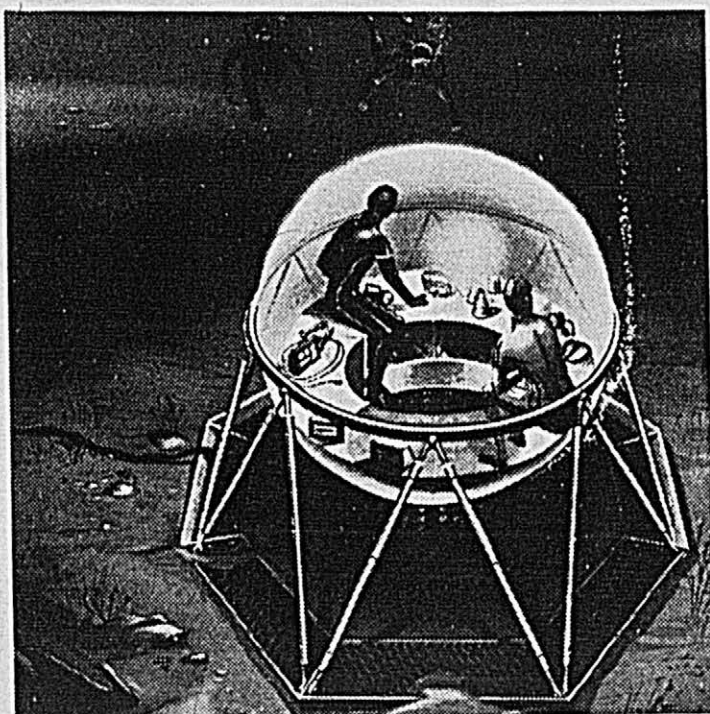
As for us, we believe that three miles separating a community of 100 people from a small city is not a very widespread phenomenon. Since Schefferville exists, we Indians certainly have the right to flee from the pollution and the noise that bother us. We are fleeing from neurosis and depression, as others flee from the plague. It is strange that at a time when a return to nature and its purity is being proposed, the Indians are being forced to pack themselves into the town to breathe the evil odours. It is for this reason that we would like to talk about the new reserve situation within the town limits, on the shore of the lake which serves as a reservoir for the town sewers. Well then, this reserve does not please us. In wanting to integrate us into the city, the government is putting us into the very heart of all the negative sides which a city offers. Schefferville is not one of the best cities. Segregation is practiced here for example: Schefferville does not even offer the possibilities of a "normal" city. There is, sure enough, a recreational centre, but the pool is closed to young Indians, on the pretext that they are "dirty"; of the two restaurants, one is closed to Indians, and the only place where we can enrich the owner is located in a basement. The other places, those which are "in", are forbidden. Experience has proved that when Indians that the government is trying to "park" in the cities are concerned, integration proceeds through the evils which your civilization offers.

When all the Indians lived at Lac John, there was a social organization which made sure

continued on page 25



*The land is yours for as long
as the grass is green
and the rivers flow...*



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Sub-Igloo. A light aluminum-plastic observation platform which can be assembled underwater by skin divers.

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Arrivals from the South:

Cold Comfort

Pour 1½ ounces of Southern Comfort over crushed ice. Add a twist of lemon.

Comfort Screwdriver

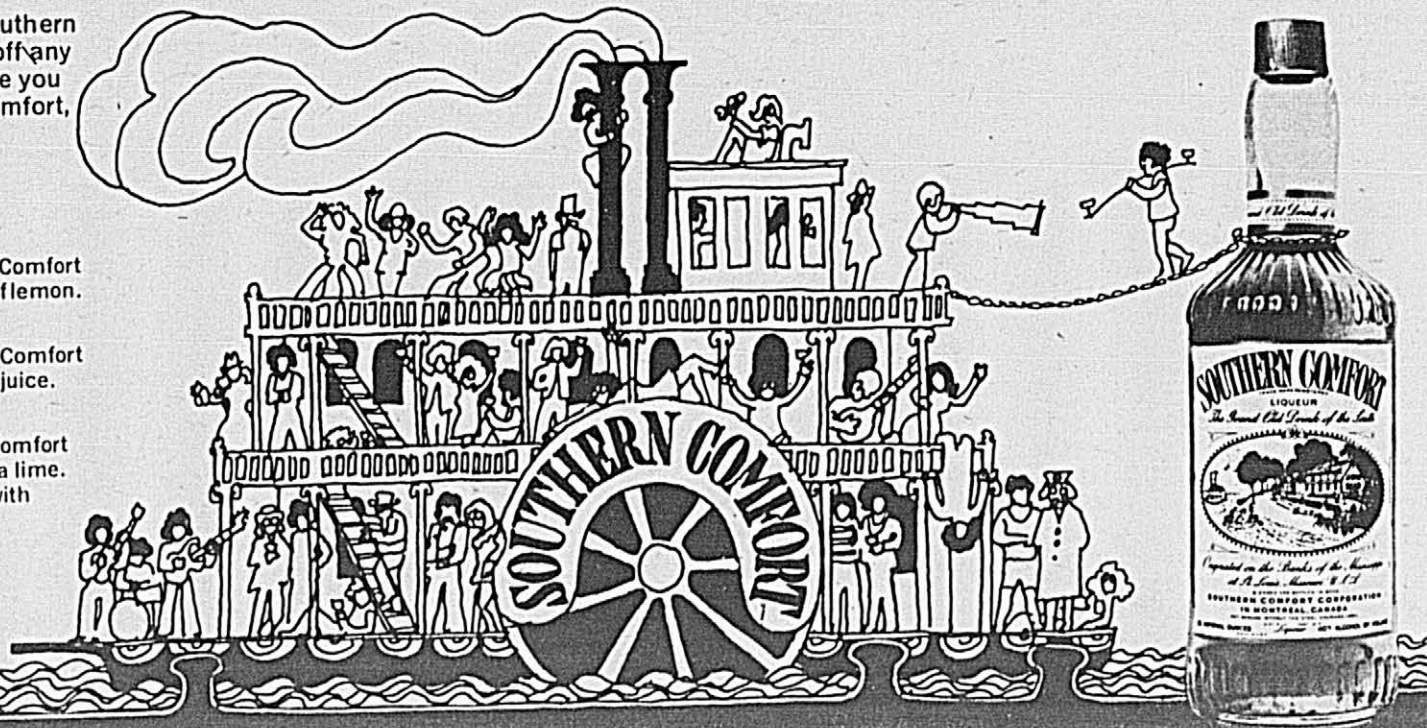
Pour 1½ ounces of Southern Comfort over ice. Top up with orange juice.

Comfort Collins

Mix 1½ ounces of Southern Comfort with the juice of a quarter of a lime. Add some ice. Fill the glass with lemon-lime drink.

Try these, too:

Comfort 'n' Cola,
Comfort and Tonic,
Comfort Daiquiri, etc., etc.



by Susan Shapiro

A year ago I began the descent from a moderately healthy existence with all the advantages of middle-class upbringing—sanitary housing, good nutrition, adequate medical care whenever necessary—into the world of the unhealthy.

My views on health were as yet unformed. I believed in free and good health care for all, but I gave very little attention to the actual situation of health care in the US and Quebec. Still in my twenties, I shared the consciousness of middle-class youth about health, which is best described as a tacit belief in one's immortality. Never having to grapple with the possibility of my own death—not having lived in a working-class, or any other, hostile environment—and never seeing it around me, I was hardly sensitive to the way unhealthy people are treated.

My experiences in the year that has just passed have changed me. What I felt throughout that year of unhealthiness was greater than the pain of the sickness itself. These 12 months witnessed my growing awareness of the injustice and brutality committed against us by the North American medical system. An understanding of this led to a growing sense of my own, as well as society's, responsibility to my physical being, and of how this system tries to destroy what self-respect we have and our rights to humane and good health care.

Ever want to know how little you're worth, what anonymity is all about, the essence of degradation and abuse? Take a short visit, or a long one if your condition demands it, to one of the hospital outpatient clinics in the city of your choice. It's a kind of shock treatment that really works. You leave swearing that save for an appendectomy (and maybe not even then) you won't ever return.

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In a Florida hospital: a middle-aged woman arrives on a stretcher. Her condition is clearly serious—an ambulance attendant, chatting rather loudly to the secretary, says she is a diabetic, who has not taken her insulin for two days, and is on the verge of a coma. Her body and all her motions are lifeless. Before she can see the doctor, she is forced to sign a paper handing over total power of treatment and tests. The woman can hardly lift her writing hand, and the overriding concern of the people attending her is her signature. Hospital priorities are shoved in my face.

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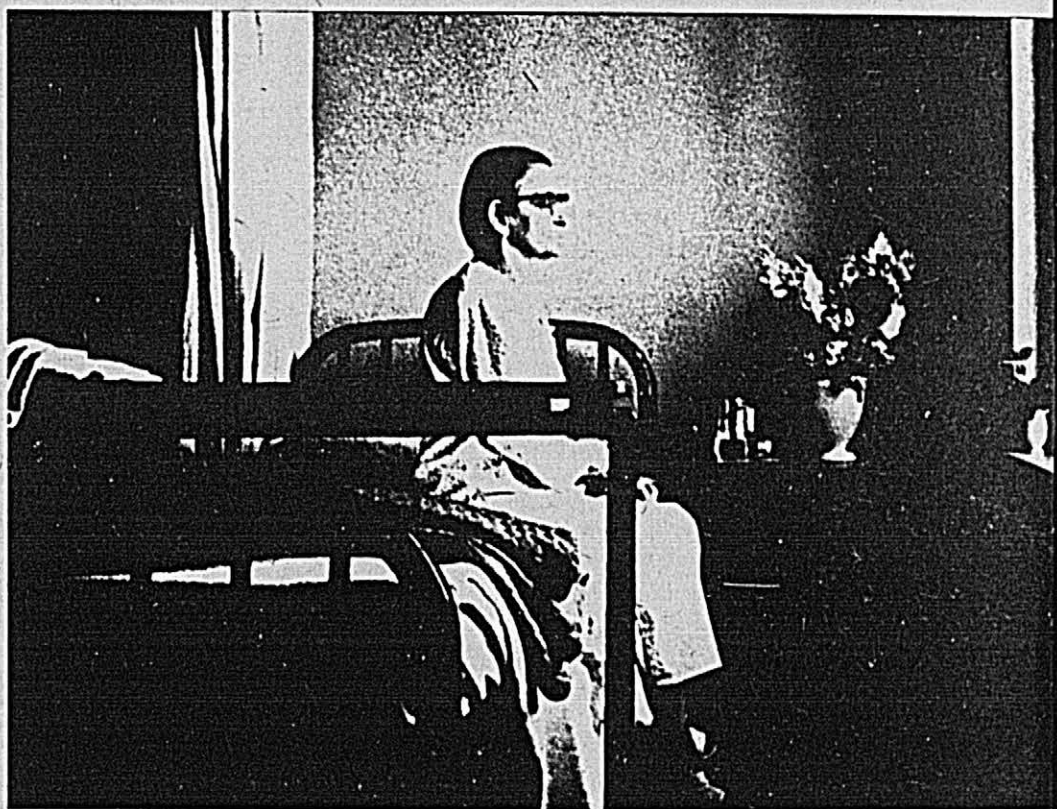
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This practice of giving treatment without finding out what the real illness is, it turns out, is a fairly frequent occurrence. This is especially so in cases of gynecological infections. The justification given is that since VD is so rampant, there exists a very high probability that this is in fact the problem. I don't think it is pushing it too far to assert that this unnecessary, irresponsible act (which is common enough for at least eight people I know to have experienced it in the last year) is a sort of punishment for having sinned.

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Remaining passive and accepting treatment silently is a very difficult attitude to see through, never mind break out of. This tendency comes from a whole ideological training which mystifies the role of doctors on the one hand, and on the other hand, creates a general insensitivity of the population to ill health. Having believed for so long in the omnipotence and good will of doctors, I could not easily begin to understand that in practice doctors were not the embodiment of goodness and that they didn't have my best interests at heart and that they could and did make mistakes.

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A whole world of possibilities for change open up with the power we would then possess. An analogous situation existed (and still exists) for women as witnessed in the development of the Women's Movement. Women had previously thought of themselves in a slave capacity, with no intellect, backbone, or ability to function as independent, self-respecting beings; they began with the onset of the Women's Movement to rely on themselves, on their own initiative, and to release themselves from the bondage they had previously accepted as their proper fate. With this newly developed sense of self came a power which had always been there as a potential, but had been dormant.

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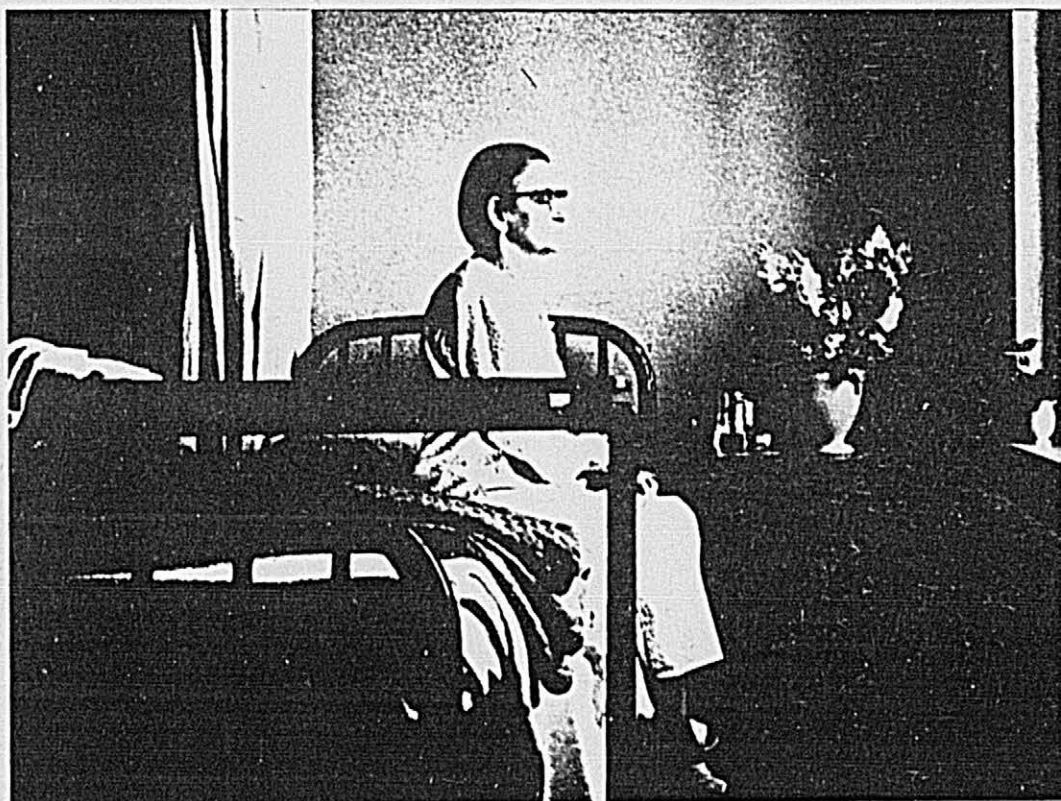
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by Susan Shapiro

The question is "for whom?"

The two articles on these pages are made up of excerpts from a paper written by a former McGill student last spring, following a year of serious chronic illness.

The first one records some of her reflections about her treatment by the medical system in Quebec and in her native U.S. The second is about health care in China and the changes that the Chinese people have made, since 1949 and especially since 1966.

Neither article pretends to be a comprehensive analysis of health care under either North American capitalism or Chinese communism. They focus rather on the attitudes and human relationships within the health care institutions of the two societies.

A description of some aspects of a Chinese hospital can help to show what far-reaching changes have been possible in health care, especially with respect to human relationships.

In a North American hospital, emphasis is placed on not becoming too familiar with patients. Human contact is supposedly contradictory to efficiency, and a hospital worker is forced to maintain an "efficiency" that represses any emotions about her or his "cases". (I once saw a nurse visibly taken aback when a patient asked her, "How are you today?" She replied, "Well, that really doesn't matter. I'm here to help you get better, after all.")

In China, the view is stressed that patients are whole persons, not "cases", that patients and medical workers should work collectively towards a common goal—the better health of everyone concerned. Efficiency, far from being sacrificed, is improved by giving primary consideration to the patients' needs. These attitudes did not appear overnight, but are the product of many a fierce struggle session.

Hospitals have an "opinion book". Patients are encouraged to put any complaints in writing, and these complaints are forwarded to the department or person concerned. Daily responsibilities are not allocated by administrators or department heads, but by groups composed of medical staff together with patient representatives.

The patients, if well enough to get around, are eager to share these responsibilities in many areas. They read to other patients, help with cleaning chores, and serve food to those patients confined to their beds.

More importantly, they accompany medical workers on their rounds, making suggestions and often pointing out to the doctor or nurse things she or he might have overlooked.

At the same time, medical workers (including doctors) and hospital administrators are required to do what would be termed in North America menial work, such as sweeping floors and serving food. This practice might seem a waste of time to those who would argue that the shortage of skilled personnel should dictate keeping highly-trained persons working at tasks which only they can do. This problem is not an easy one to work out, but it has been found that failure to implement these practices leads to a tendency on the part of doctors towards arrogance and professionalism which in the long run is more detrimental than any loss in short-term "efficiency".

Many doctors, especially those trained before the cultural revolution, still display impatience towards patients and don't explain what's happening to them when giving treatment. In these cases, a role reversal often occurs, and the patient cures the doctor's ideological ills. Joshua Horn, an English doctor who lived and worked in China from 1954 to 1969, tells in his book *Away with all pests* of a nurse who prescribed bed-rest to a peasant with an infected foot, and gave him a shot of penicillin. The peasant returned a few days later, with his foot no better. He told the nurse that he didn't think she understood his case, and that he had applied soya sauce to his foot, at which point the nurse stormed out in a huff. She was later informed by a brigade member that the reason the patient had no confidence in her method had much to do with the way treatment had been administered. She had prescribed bed-rest without taking into account that it was the height of the busy season of the harvest, and she had given him a shot without explaining why. She learned a lesson, however. In her words,

"When I thought about it later, I realized

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no longer sat by mutely while my being determined, regretting afterwards awkward silence. Instead, I voice when necessary, asked appropriate questions and let the doctor in my eyes he was fallible. This fold effect of rebuilding my self and obtaining clues of his carefully secrets about my health. My ce of professionalism and my con- its perpetuation was beginning understood.

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This question of "for whom?" is fundamental...

continued from page 19

how high and mighty I had been with him. When his foot got worse, I had wanted him to beg for forgiveness so that I could be charitable and big-hearted. Actually, it was he who was big-hearted, for he insisted on working, not for his own sake, but for the good of the collective."

During the cultural revolution, training methods which fostered elitism among professors was attacked, and as a result of this a movement towards integration of theoretical knowledge and practical experience was emphasized. In China, doctors and nurses participate in hospital work very early in their training, and are helped by more experienced staff.

Traditional sex roles in medicine are beginning to be dealt with. Nurses often go on to be trained as doctors, and the traditional boundaries between the two jobs are being broken down. Contradictions, however, still exist—there is a conspicuous lack of women with high positions in the ministry of health, for instance; and in all our readings we have come across no mention of male nurses. This would indicate that the male-female division of labour remains inequalitarian in health care, and still must be struggled with.

However, if the ideology expressed in China today is sincere, then the contradiction between service to the people and inequality of women in whatever form will have to be resolved, even if it requires another cultural revolution.

Part of status in North America is proportionate to salary received. This hierarchical situation does not exist in China: salary scales are almost the same for doctors and nurses. Raises are decided collectively by all members of the staff, and criteria for eligibility are in keeping with the ideology of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." First consideration is given to those supporting families, and those whose salaries are lower are more eligible than the more highly paid. Rank does not determine the type of dining facilities available to the hospital worker—all staff members share a common cafeteria. In these instances and many others, democracy is stressed and every attempt is made to minimize situations that would create elitism among certain groups within the collective.

In the last two years, as a certain openness towards China has been forced upon the established powers in the U.S., Canada and other Western countries, many eyewitness accounts have begun to appear in large-circulation media of the progress which China has made in health care and other fields.

What is important to understand is that these gains were not an automatic consequence of the Communist Party winning state power in 1949. They did not result simply from the switch to a socialist economy and collective planning, from reorganizing the structures of health care institutions, and so on. Changing the economic base was absolutely necessary, but it was not enough. Changes in attitudes and ways of thinking—in the "cultural superstructure"—have also been crucial, and these changes have been the subject of continuing prolonged struggle. This struggle was most intense during the cultural revolution of the late 1960s, and to understand how the Chinese people have made their strides in health care one should look at what was at stake in the cultural revolution.

The existence of two opposing lines,



which may be called "revisionist" and "Maoist" respectively, in China since 1949 has led China watchers to talk of policy splits, coups d'état, and personality cults. The people of China have a very different perspective of these two opposing lines. They see them as a reflection of struggle between classes in socialist society, struggle which has continued long after the economic base has changed hands.

Once the economic base had been wrested from the bourgeoisie, its major remaining influence lay in the cultural and ideological "superstructures". Revolutionary leaders since Lenin have pointed out that class struggle does not end with seizure of state power and the economic base—the bourgeoisie can rely on the force of habits and old customs to regain power.

Mao believed that a revolution in the superstructure was needed to secure a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat. This can happen only when masses of individuals transform themselves internally through participation in the struggle. Internal transformation of self is crucial to the Chinese conception of changing society and is fundamental to understanding the aim of the "great proletarian cultural revolution".

The prime target of the cultural revolution was policies and practices—and the basic political perspective underlying them—which would have turned China away from advancing to a classless society. Proponents of the cultural revolution saw this tendency to take the wrong road as led by Liu Shao-Chi—president of China when it began.

Though only a very few people may have

pursued this road consciously, it found a basis of its strength in tendencies in the practice and outlook of many party cadres. To a greater or lesser extent, they had become complacent about their style of work, comfortable in their roles as "powerful" people, and divorced from the masses and their needs. A still wider (though even less conscious) basis for this tendency lay in tacit acceptance of leadership directives and practices by the led, and in remnants of peasant individualism in the countryside.

The work of party cadres needed to be criticized and changed, and to be effective this had to be done by mobilizing the energy, wisdom and initiative of the masses of people. It was the masses who knew where there were weaknesses, which cadres had flaws, which policies they liked, and how the state machinery had to be transformed to meet their needs. Only their active intervention in China's history could destroy the basis of a possible triumph for Liu's line.

The question of "for whom?" is the basis of the contradiction between the revisionist and the Maoist vision of a new society. In the institutions of health care, as well as in all other existing institutions (universities, factories, art and literature, etc.), this question was posed and fiercely struggled over.

In Chinese health care, to practice "service to the people" means focusing energy on the peasantry, which comprises 80 percent of the population. The ideology which arises from a bourgeois class outlook advocates centering energy, money and power in urban centers, where most bour-

geois circles are. It meant, in effect, service to the few.

Before the cultural revolution, those who held key positions in major hospitals, and who controlled medical policies and the allotment of resources, used their power to centre development and funds in the cities, where medical research centers, modern doctors and hospitals and universities were established. This left a gaping contradiction: the medical elite were in the cities but the peasantry were in the rural areas.

Revisionist doctors fostered separation of technical and political matters. The implied contention is that medicine transcends class interests and politics, and is an entity unto itself, a "science," and therefore not subject to the same criteria for criticism as other institutions.

A stress on technical (expert) competence is key to the revisionist approach to health. The Chinese experience has provided many examples of medical problems which on first sight were technical, but which revealed a more fundamental contradiction with slight scraping beneath the surface.

The story of Chiu-Chu is one such example. Chiu-Chu was a peasant who suffered from an abdominal tumor which had grown to 99 pounds by the time it was finally removed. She had gone from one hospital to another seeking treatment, giving up all hope when one "expert" after another pronounced her case hopeless. A group of army medical workers whom she came to, however, decided they must attempt to treat her. They had little experience in treatment of her illness, since such cases had previously been dismissed as incurable. There were many obstacles to overcome, ideological as well as technical. But by dint of exhaustive examination and study, they determined that the tumor was benign and, at least theoretically, operable; and they went on, armed with determination to overcome obstacles and willingness to take great pains, to undertake a very long and difficult operation in an attempt to save her. Whether or not they succeeded—in this case, they did—is not as important as the willingness to make a great effort for a comrade whose needs had been so long neglected by the medical profession.

Joshua Horn provides another example. He describes in *Away with all pests* how he was led to change his professionalism, arrogance and lack of confidence in the abilities of ordinary people after he began to work in remote rural areas. He resented, especially at first, the makeshift operating and examining rooms, often in peasant cottages, which had been set up to fill the void in health care with whatever resources were at hand, far from equipment and expertise of Peking.

At one such post, a seriously-injured peasant was brought to him after she had been thrown from a donkey. She had broken her neck. According to 'standard' practice, she needed an X-ray and special skull-traction apparatus available only in Peking, and Horn decided "more or less automatically" to have her taken away by ambulance.

This journey would have been dangerously time-consuming and extremely painful. Its cost would have been a tremendous blow to her production brigade, setting it back a full year in its arduous recovery from previous natural disasters. Horn's proposal took none of these things into account, and a young clinic doctor whom Horn had trained pressed him to give them some thought.

continued on page 23

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&
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by John Schoonover

Physics under fire

Recently, physicists briefly emerged from their labs to enter into a controversy over how they should ply their trade. Quite a few words were printed, but the effect was more to obscure than to clarify the issue.

In the November 1972 issue of *Physics Today*, a journal of the American Physical Society (APS), an article appeared entitled "The APS Amendment on Professional Responsibility". The article consists of an amendment proposed for the APS constitution and letters from physicists explaining their feelings about the amendment.

The proposed amendment reads: "The object of the Society shall be the advancement of a diffusion of the knowledge of physics in order to increase man's understanding of nature and to contribute to the enhancement of the quality of life for all people. The Society shall assist its members in the pursuit of these humane goals and it shall shun those activities which are judged to contribute harmfully to the welfare of mankind."

Most of the arguments for and against the amendment are reflected in the first letter of the series, written by Robert H. March of the University of Wisconsin. He has been the main proponent of the new amendment.

In his introductory remarks, March says that we have left the era when "scientists shared a universal faith that any increase in man's knowledge of nature would be bound to improve his lot." The important word in this statement is *knowledge*. It is not knowledge of nature, but the application of that knowledge that has the power to change man's lot.

What do we see when we look at how men have applied their new knowledge? Starting with the Industrial Revolution in England, a vast new technology began to develop, which would, in a short period of time, make it possible to satisfy the material needs of all the world's people. In fact, only the needs of a small rising segment of the population, who owned this new technology, were satisfied—satisfied beyond the

wildest dreams of the kings and emperors of previous ages.

But what happened to the rest of humanity? Side by side with the opulence of this rising class was found the brutality of child labour, the horrors of industrial slums, and the abject poverty of forcibly dispossessed peasants. Meanwhile, scientific knowledge was increasing by leaps and bounds. The very men who had gained economic power during this era continued to find new and profitable ways to apply this expanding science.

As the competition between nations for hegemony over foreign markets became fiercer, war was inevitable. World War I was fought using the fruits of the application of scientific knowledge: Big Bertha and other massive artillery pieces, radio, telephone, airplanes, and an almost endless array of technological goodies. But even this was not the end of it. World War II made all its predecessors look like child's play. And today, in Vietnam, the electronic battlefield is fast making the foot soldier, at least for the world's leading imperialist power, obsolete.

But, scientific knowledge has been applied in other directions as well. The productivity of modern industrial labour is immense compared with that of any preceding era. At the same time, two-thirds of the world's people do not have enough to eat, yet food is destroyed in vast quantities in North America. (In one week this

summer, one million chickens were destroyed in Québec alone to keep the price of eggs and poultry up.) The plain fact is that the control of technological application is in the hands of a very small, very powerful group, which uses this control to benefit its members, regardless of how the rest of society is affected.

Further on in his letter, March complains that "physics has strong institutional ties to government and industry" and that much research is related to "specific policy goals", which are not within "the reach of public scrutiny". The implication of his complaint is that scientists should be doing "pure" research, divorced from coarse "policy goals" and specific needs. This conception of a physicist's work, that it is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, is as foolish and as dangerous as the idea that any increase in knowledge will improve man's lot. Every society has used the results of research and experimentation. An increase in the productivity of labour has always been dependent upon the application of technological development. Thus, a scientist is clearly a contributing member of society. As for policy goals not being in the hands of the people—a much more earth shaking proposal than an amendment to the APS constitution is needed to change that.

March adds: "When the basic decisions that set the priorities in science, and determine how it shall be applied are in the hands

of powerful institutions to rest on a claim of moral neutrality is to surrender our moral autonomy to these institutions."

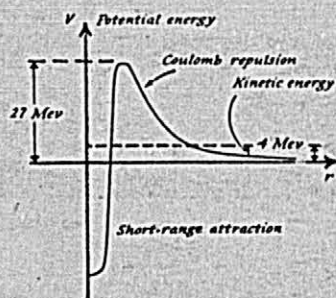
March here implies that as a physicist in capitalist society, he has the choice of whether or not he will do research that, broadly speaking, meets the policy goals of that society. In fact, he has that choice only insofar as he can get the funds to do the research he feels is important. By and large, this is an impossible task, so by his own restrictions, he can hardly remain a physicist. Yet, remain a physicist he must, although he must also do everything possible to change society.

"Who is to judge whether the goals of scientific research are 'humane'?" March asks.

The university and the government laboratory are very much a part of the ivory tower. This situation leads physicists as it does other intellectuals to make judgements based on extreme idealizations of what life must be like and what it should be like "out there."

The result is, then, that physicists, by themselves, are incapable of judging the harmfulness of their work. But there are no mechanisms in our society by which the people most likely to be affected by these judgements, working people, can have a say in them. It would be very risky for the shapers of "policy goals" to allow this prerogative to slip from their hands. Surely, if physicists themselves have little say in setting the goals, the man in the street won't have any.

Recognizing the basic impotence of the Physical Society to take any effective actions, March contents himself with calling for a "full and open discussion of the issues involved." This forum of friendly physicists "would, in fact, be an end in itself." Here is a marvellous opportunity for the scientific élite to examine its collective navel to see if any radioactive dust is gathering there. A famous political economist once said: "The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." This also applies to physicists.



today

continued from page 2

directed by Edith and Luciano Della Pergola. Excerpts from Weber, Massenet, Doniaetti, Bizet, etc. Redpath Hall—8:30 pm. Free.

December 17—Student Orchestra, directed by Eugene Plawutsky. Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf"—French Version. Narrator: Pierre Pascau of CBMT. Redpath Hall at 3 pm. Free.

Linguistics: December 13, Screening of selections from Netsilik Eskimo Series, National Film Board Documentaries on traditional Eskimo life of the Pelly Bay region of the Canadian Arctic. Bronfman Building (Management), room 06 (basement) at 2 pm.

Free Film: December 8—English dept. poetry film series. "Robert Creeley" in Leacock 112 at 2 pm.

Entertainment Committee: Friday, Dec. 8, at 8 pm. Pub featuring Back Door Blues Band and Bill Russell; Union Coffee Lounge. Beer 3 for \$1.

Ski Sale: Don't forget the used-ski sale in the Currie Gym. Dec. 8 and 9. Best prices in town. (room G22; main door and follow signs.)

English Dept. Film Series: Buster Keaton double bill "The Railroader" plus "Buster Keaton Rides Again". Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 11 and 12 at 4 pm in FDA Auditorium (PSCA).

Gay Coffee House: Tuesday, Dec. 12 at 8:30 pm in the Union Coffee Lounge. All welcome.

Gay Dance: New Year's Eve, Union Ballroom. Admission \$1. Advance tickets available.

Hellenic Club: Meeting on Tuesday, Dec. 12 at 6 pm in the Union room 307. Constitutional Committee will present its final draft of the constitution.

Voting will take place. Essential that all members attend. New members welcome. Details will be given concerning the ski trip to be held during the holidays.

Radio McGill: Latin American Programme at 1 pm and again at 7 pm on Thursday, Dec. 21.

Film Society: Friday, Dec. 8, the Suspense Series presents a doublebill: "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" (Brit. 1932) directed by Rouben Mamoulian at 7 pm and "The Cat People" (U.S. 1942) by Val Lewton and Jacques Tourner at 9:30 pm in L132. Admission 50c, series tickets \$3. Saturday, Dec. 9, another great

international film: "Le Boucher" (France, 1970), directed by Chabrol. To be shown at 7 and 9:30 pm in FDA. Admission 75c.

Friday, Dec. 15, at 7:30 pm, "Louisiana Story" directed by Robert (Nanook of the North) Flaherty, in Leacock 132. Admission 50c.

Wednesday, Dec. 13, "The Saga of Gostre Berling" in the Union Ballroom at 7:30 pm.

Conference: Le Nouveau Théâtre Québécois: Par le Prof. Laurent Mailhot, Université de Montréal. Vendredi, 8 décembre 1972. A 11 heures, Salon des Professeurs, Peterson Hall, 3460 McTavish.

Health . . .

continued from page 20

"With an effort, I suppressed a feeling of irritation," Horn writes. "I was tired, he was my pupil and twenty years my junior. But his earnestness forced me to reconsider . . . and the more I thought it over, the clearer it became that my advice had been routine and superficial, that I had considered only the medical and not the social aspects of the problem."

The two doctors then went on to circumvent the need for an X-ray by careful clinical examination, and to devise an ingenious makeshift apparatus for applying traction to the injury. Within two days the patient was well on the road to recovery, and three months later she sent Horn a picture of herself doing regular work.

Implicit in Horn's first, "automatic" decision was an unwillingness to risk treating the injured peasant without the standard facilities prescribed by his professional training, even though the over-all "risk"—to the patient—would have been made greater by sending her away. Where professional training pointed to one course and the patient's interest—i.e. class love—to another, Horn had pursued the former, until his "junior," a person from the peasantry, had pushed him to open his eyes.

Some sketches of the course health care is now following in the countryside can help in showing the concrete outcome of the victory of the Maoist line after five years of struggle in the cultural revolution.

The vehicles for beginning comprehensive health care were the mobile medical teams. Their goals include wiping out, or at least controlling, disease before people are infected. Both children and adults are immunized against infectious disease, water and water sources are kept free from infection, and diseases which are specific to certain areas have been attacked and brought under control.

In these tasks, as in others, reliance on the masses is stressed. In one village, many people were suffering from gastrointestinal illnesses stemming from the source of their drinking water—an uncovered well. The peasants were skeptical when told that their sickness was due to germs and parasites present in the well water. The medical team then set up a microscope on the site in order to show the villagers the tiny enemy. Immediately, they themselves set about solving the problem by constructing a protective stone wall and covering the well with removeable boards, thus protecting the community from further infection. The mobile medical teams are also expected to assist in eliminating the "four pests"—flies, bedbugs, rats and mosquitoes. The emphasis is preventive; to attack these pests, as well as water-borne diseases, is to provide health care which controls the sources of disease, before people can be infected, thus greatly cutting down on the need for curative medicine. These tasks are integral to the success of a medical system whose goal is to serve the people wholeheartedly.

The experience of the Chinese attack on venereal disease showed how active participation of, and reliance on, the masses was essential to solving a problem. When a campaign was launched to wipe out this disease, revisionists insisted that reliance on expert technicians from the cities was the key to success.

Reliance on "experts" was not simply a technical question. It reflected a lack of faith in the intelligence, initiative, and perseverance of the masses, and a lazy and unconcerned attitude to attacking a disease from which more than 10 million people were suffering—up to 10 percent of the population in some areas. In effect, the technician- or expert- oriented approach was defeatist from the start, because the small number of experts in this field could never hope to eradicate a disease which had reached epidemic proportions. Caution and "slow but steady progress" were advocated in a context where the only hope for success was the complete mobilizing of collective enthusiasm, initiative and wisdom.

Those stressing "reliance on the masses" finally won the battle after long struggle, and only after the population was mobilized did efforts to eradicate VD bear fruit.

First, a questionnaire describing sym-

ptoms was distributed. Those recognizing symptoms in themselves (or their relatives or friends) were urged to seek immediate treatment at the local hospital or clinic. Other educational means were used, such as posters, plays and mass meetings. At first, the response was slow, because the feelings of shame and humiliation associated with VD were still deeply ingrained in the consciousness of many. People who had once suffered from syphilis were then enlisted in the fight—they spoke of how they had had to struggle with their fears before finally making the correct decision to liberate themselves from syphilis.

Volunteers from the communes, after following a crash course in diagnosis and treatment of syphilis, were rigorously tested by doctors, many of whom were skeptical about any medical knowledge gained in seven days. The majority of volunteers passed and went on to contribute both moral and technical support in the campaign. In most areas, this questionnaire and education method was endorsed; in other areas, because of the particularly high incidence of syphilis, population surveys were carried out.

The largest single group of people who were victims of syphilis were prostitutes, of whom about 90 percent were infected. Very soon after Liberation, brothels had been closed down. People were made to understand that prostitution involved the gross exploitation of persons who had been forced by poverty to resort to this means of survival. The women infected by syphilis were treated and then encouraged to take an active part in the building of a new society. Jobs were found for them, and through re-education they learned about the ideology that had caused their exploitation. Their families and others were also re-educated into a correct understanding of prostitution—that prostitutes were not "fallen women" but victims of an old society everyone was trying to destroy.

These means, together with the mass campaign, succeeded, within a few years, in wiping out another disease which had caused much suffering in pre-Liberation

China. Today, syphilis is considered a rare disease.

* * * *

In North America, the doctor-patient relationship can best be described as one of omnipotence for the doctor, advocacy of professionalism, objectification and dehumanization. In China, to quote Joshua Horn, "if both are contributing to the building of socialism, their differing contributions represent a division of labor in a common cause."

The patient's condition is not kept a guarded secret by the doctor. The doctor is considered a skilled partner in a team whose collective effort will alleviate the patient's illness. Patient and doctor discuss diagnosis, treatment, etc., with the net result of quieting the patient's fears.

It is apparent what the patient gains from this relationship—hopefully, her or his health. It may be asked, however, what the doctor gains. This cannot be answered in material terms, for doctors are not especially well paid; and in any case, to look at China from a Western set of values and not in her own context is to arrive at erroneous conclusions.

"In the field of medical science," Horn wrote about one person he met, "I was the doctor and he the patient; but in the field of ideology and with regard to moral quality, he was the doctor and I the patient— . . ."

"In China, I learn clinical medicine from my patients, but in addition, I learn many other things. My patients in socialist China are a living textbook of politics and history. They teach me about the struggles and oppression of the past, about events which led up to the present.

"They teach me that human nature is not a fixed, limiting factor to man's development but that it can change as society changes . . . They teach me the meaning of endurance and courage, that ideas can generate a mighty material force."

Gagnon . . .

continued from page 13

Gagnon also criticizes the social democrats' preoccupation with action, particularly electoral action, and their "false conclusion" that the workers are not interested in theoretical work. "Such a conclusion," maintains Gagnon, "is only possible because of an enormous confusion between isolated theoretical work, the experience of which is always disastrous in effect, and theoretical work which is tied to practical work."

The social democrats constantly repeat that the workers have to engage in action. Gagnon asks what this means in concrete practice. "It comes back to certain people to decide how the working

class should struggle, what struggles it should wage, when it should conduct them and against whom it should fight. These poor workers do not know what to do! So go the 'common fronts' of the social democrats, such as the Conseil Ouvrier du Transport (COT) where the leadership is petty bourgeois, where the majority of the 'militants' (more exactly, of the editors of press releases) are not working-class, let alone transport workers. One understands why the delegation of the Mouvement de Libération du Taxi (MLT) and, afterwards, that of the Côte-des-Neiges Political Action Committee, withdrew from the COT: too many speeches, too many communiqués, too many meetings, a lot of time and energy wasted, no progress for any of the member organizations of the 'common front'!"

The social democratic current in Quebec is found in the union leadership, in the "left of the PQ", and in local popular organizations, like FRAP. The social democratic orientation, according to Gagnon, stems from the class interests of the least privileged

fraction of the petty bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the highest layer of the working class, on the other. "It is because of this that university professors and highly specialized workers and technicians can be found together.

"In brief, our history has taught us that the 'nation of nationalists' is a very deceptive notion. In the programmes of nationalist parties and in electoral periods, especially when victory seems possible, the 'nation' is comprised of everyone without exception—firemen, workers, politicians, policemen, judges, industrialists, housewives and unemployed, except the Jews and the English! But once the victory has been carried away, in the first important conflict one sees the 'national' police clubbing the 'national' workers by order of the 'national' State maintained in legality, whatever the cost, by 'national' judges . . ."

For Gagnon, therefore, Valières' idea of "national unity" is a "national dead-end." He points out that René Lévesque denounced the militant workers of Sept-Iles for their takeover of that

town in May 1972, and that Claude Morin, a recently recruited PQ big gun, declared that "the leftists, the anarchists and the Marxists can expect no favours in an 'independent' Quebec."

Gagnon's main objection to "the social-democrat dream", the other main object of his attack, is based on the premise that "socialism and capitalism are radically irreconcilable and that any regime which leaves capitalism alone, which does not engage in a process of destruction of capitalism, cannot be called socialist." By this definition, neither Sweden nor the British Labour Party is socialist.

He attacks Quebec social democrats, including organizations like FRAP, for trying to define a "workers' party" as one based on "the addition of the greatest number of salaried workers", for substituting a "salarial" in class analysis for the proletariat. "When one knows that the Prime Minister is salaried, like many doctors and big corporation presidents, we must ask ourselves where this is leading us!"

FRAP is criticized for insisting

that the unions set up the Quebec "workers' party" right away. The main argument FRAP uses to support its position is the existence, in recent years, of numerous 'common fronts', which would demonstrate the already-realized unity of the workers. What about the conflicts between rival construction unions? Gagnon asks. And what about the formation of the CSD and the departure of the Quebec civil servants' and other unions from the CNTU?

Being a worker does not necessarily make one a revolutionary. Similarly, an organization composed mainly or entirely of workers is not necessarily progressive, let alone revolutionary. The CSD is a perfect case in point, even though, according to Gagnon, numerous CSD workers are progressive, more progressive than many union officials. "Class consciousness, an essential element of the revolutionary character of every working-class organization, is not born spontaneously among the workers; it is not born because of their mere organizational unity."

continued on page 26

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Conservative, Eastern Townships weekend ski group requires members (cross country, downhill, snowshoeing, congenial company, good food, interesting conversation). 467-5501 evening.

METAMUSIC The Sound of Three Hands Clapping. Wednesday 8:30 p.m. in concert. FREE

THE TIME HAS COME, the walrus said, to squeak of many things: of moustaches and bylines, of cabbage-headed kings. Time for our byline now. The gunovamint job announcements in Nov. courtesy of Ronoff Productions and OFY (Opportunities For Yule). We hope you got those fine shit jobs in time for Sandy Claws to favour you goody-goody boys and girls who helped old grannies cross the street to the bank while you carried their tommyguns. Happy holiday, and to all a fucking good night from Ron F. & Co. Unlimited.

WANTED

Ride wanted for one male to Mexico City or Southern U.S. in middle of January. Share expenses and driving. 843-6649.

Wanted: Ride to Syracuse, New York after 19 December or person old enough to rent car. Bud, 844-0936 (Rm 321)

Fire string banjoist seeks similars for forming banjo band. Call Israel at 738-7452.

LOST

Reward offered for navy blue wallet containing ID cards lost Tuesday night 4th floor McLennan. Call 684-3476.

McGill notebook lost in the Drop-In Centre. Important french notes. If found please call Claudia. 737-6833.

Round gold wire-rimmed glasses. Call 842-0879 Room 636 Maryanne. Reward.

Female dog, beige with black face. Decarie-Van Horne, Wed. Nov. 15th. Reward! Please call 737-9963, 737-7473.

Zippered black binder on lower campus field Thursday Nov. 16. Notes contained are important. If found please call Bob 739-7893. Thanks.

ENTERTAINMENT

Christmas dance at Gardner Hall. Come one, Come all. Saturday, 9-2 AM. Live band, Beer and hard liquor.

Next Friday nite, Dec. 15th. is the time to celebrate the end of classes at—The Polish Club Discotek. Beer and wine four for \$1.00. Union Coffee Lounge. We'll be waiting for ya!

McGill Film Society year end report. Suspense series: Friday December 8, DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE (Britain 1932), directed by Rouben Mamoulin with Frederic March who changes to Mr. Hyde in a way no film maker or other individual can discern. Plus Chapter V of THE PERILS OF PAULINE at 9:30: THE CAT PEOPLE (U.S. 1942) directed by Val Lewton and Jacques Tourner. Plus Chapter VI. Both in Leacock 132, 50c each. Saturday December 9: LE BOUCHER (France 1970), directed by Claude Chabrol with Stephane Audran and Jean Yanne, 7:00 & 9:30, PSQA/FDAA, 75c (with English subtitles). Overlooked and Under-rated: LOUISIANA STORY directed by Robert Flaherty (Nanook of the North), Leacock 132, 50c. For info: call 392-8934.

Salvador Dali, Chagall, Breugel, Alfonse Mucha, Lautrec, Pre-Raphaelites, Yucatan Hammocks. The Purple Unknown since 1967. Reproductions, posters, incense. 2145 Bleury.

Friday Night Pub

featuring

Back Door Band

and

Bill Russell

Friday, Dec. 8, 8:00 PM
Union Coffee Lounge
Free Admission
BEER 3/\$1.00

Entertainment
Committee

A.S.U.S. APPLICATIONS

1. On cherche un coordonnateur pour le program des films québécois.
2. A cafeteria committee is needed immediately to regulate the A.S.U.S. cafeteria and to organize a new A.S.U.S. cafeteria in the Stewart Biological Building.
3. A.S.U.S. students interested in A.S.U.S. senate representation should meet to discuss effectiveness of Senate representation without parity.

S.V.P. laissez votre nom et numéro de téléphone au guichet, au bureau des étudiants a l'Union de l'A.G.E.A.S.

Please leave name and telephone number in the A.S.U.S. box in the Students' Council Office.

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On-campus interviews
Monday, December 11, 1972, 9 am-12 noon
by Mr. Fred Baker

Sign-up:
CMC Student Placement Office, 3574 University Street



JEWISH STUDIES PROGRAM

Two new half courses for credit

Hebrew 135-220B

Introductory Hebrew
Time: Mon. & Wed. 4-5:30 PM
Place: L229

N.B. This course will be offered in 1973 only.

Jewish Studies 135-353B

Inter-disciplinary lectures in Jewish Studies
Topic for Spring 1973: Jewish Mysticism
Time: Tuesday 5-7 PM
Place: 3511 Peel St. Rm. 203

For further information contact the
Jewish Studies Program
392-5969

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

HISTORY 242B

History of Canadian-American Relations

Starting January 16, 1973 the History Department will offer a new half course for credit - History 242B - Canadian-American Relations:

Day : Tuesday and Thursday
Time : 1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.
Place : L229

Registration : for current students at McGill - during the change of course period, January 22-29.
: for new students to McGill - from now to January 11.

For further information contact the history department, telephone 392-5192.

Jacques Ellul, *Autopsy of Revolution*
Knopf, \$8.95.

Traditional theories in the social sciences and philosophy are today being re-examined and re-evaluated for their import in contemporary society. The standard answers are no longer adequate, and all responses must account for the demanding facts of the day. We have come to an awareness of how much we stand to lose if the course of human events is not altered. The debates on the major issues of the day fall into two categories, generally: those calling for reform and those calling for revolution. These are well established positions. For the reform side there are such observers as Durkheim, Spencer, and Parsons; for the revolution, there are such actors as Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and Malcolm X. The literature is substantial for both sides of the debate. The revolutionaries want a new society, and the reformers wish to keep the old.

Ellul commits himself to the fray with his *Autopsy of Revolution*. There is no question about Ellul's sympathies, since every page of the book is a condemnation of revolution and revolutionary theory. *Autopsy* is just that: a post-mortem of all revolutions, giving special attention to Marx's works. Ellul asserts that revolution has not helped modern man; even the recent, nominally successful, revolutions of China, Cuba, Algeria, Viet-Nam, Chile, to name the obvious, have led to greater repression and domination, argues Ellul. Revolution is dead.

The main practical feature of Ellul's position is that insofar as he argues against revolution, he sides with the forces of the status quo. That he offers another type of "revolution", a "progressive" revolution, is beside the point, since he offers no outline or method for such an alternative. Ellul identifies revolution as a modern phenomenon, developing in response to the centralization of societal authority in the form of the State. Revolt and revolution are a "rejection of a centralizing and remote power." In assuming that political, rather than socio-economic, issues are the basis of modern revolution, Ellul asserts the pre-eminence of a political nature in man.

Consistent with the philosophy of social reform, Ellul sees a teleological feature in the history of human society. Like Spencer and Durkheim, Ellul assumes that the natural course of society is progressive and positive. The centralization of political authority is progressive. It provides a more efficient apparatus for the organization of resources, and for the response to human needs. Indeed, the State exhibits many weaknesses, "but our only wish is to perfect it—that is, to eliminate its failings."

Ellul, it seems, believes a global society will reduce social contradictions by increasing what Durkheim referred to as the "organic solidarity" of society. The following passage from Ellul could have been written by Durkheim: "As scientific and technical knowledge expands, a drain-off of residues occurs, a tighter ordering of the social organism, and improved co-ordination of

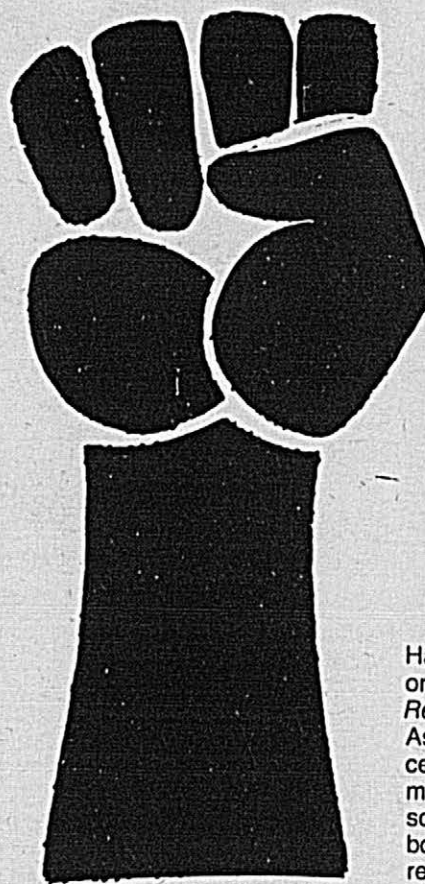
the units... The nature of a global society is such that no single element of it may be touched, or impaired, or questioned without involving the whole." The "development of history" calls for human society to move away from the nation-state to the global state, thus affirming the "normal flow of history" which has been nothing more than the increase of the centralization of authority over the mass of humanity. If revolution is simply the political action of men defying the centralizing of authority of society, Ellul is correct in saying that revolution is reactionary and anti-progress.

In the second part of the book Ellul dismisses Marx and the Marxists. He does not give any documentation for his references to Marx's work, and appears to assume that the reader will have only the most pedestrian knowledge of Marx. Ellul's scholarship on Marx is incorrect at best, and deliberately deceptive, at worst. For, an example of deliberate deception, Ellul says: "Revolutionaries can have but one goal: not to change various elements within society, but to destroy the class that oppresses them. All this is familiar and needs no elaboration," Ellul continues: "Marx... having established the imperative of a violent revolution and the elimination of capitalists, did his utmost to disguise the horror of it." Revolution, Ellul implies, is nothing more than the desire for revenge. Anyone who has read Marx knows that such statements are false. Marx does not call for the elimination of the members of the capitalist class, or of any other group. As a humanist Marx wants men to come together in community, not in bloody fratricide. Marx calls for the elimination of class society, those institutions which stand between men and human society. To this end Marx organized working men's associations that would constitute the political base for revolution.

Another example of Ellul's deceit concerns Marx's call to abolish the State. If Marx calls for the abolition of the State, as Ellul understands Marx, then how do Marxists condone the "nationalism" cropping up in Third World countries. This must be the most disingenuous argument Ellul presents in an already tricky discussion. "Death to nationalism!" used to be a revolutionary slogan. Its revival is urgently called for today, for the world is more nationalistic than ever. In that respect, socialism failed: national socialism is a thing of the past, and all the so-called socialist countries are hypernationalist... nationalism has destroyed the ideological force and revolutionary impulse of communism... The current Marxist movement, whatever its label, has been defeated by nationalism." The way Ellul condemns "nationalism" in, say, the Third World, is by neutralizing Western colonialism and imperialism. "Calling imperialism the major foe today is a distortion of fact." Not only in dealing with current political problems, but also with matters in history and social theory, when they do not fit into his defence of the status quo. This misuse of fact is only appropriate for the propagandist.

In review

premature post-mortem



Had this testament appeared in the preface or introduction, the reading of *Autopsy of Revolution* would have been much clearer. As it is, Ellul presents himself as a concerned person, concerned for the human misery in the world, and anxious to do something about it. However, once into the book, the reader realizes that Ellul is not really so much concerned about human misery as he is concerned about how to maintain order and stability. Only by stabilizing society so that governments can get on with the cool deliberations that will benefit all mankind, will the peoples of the world find order and tranquility.

All of the material evidence of oppression and exploitation by classes, and governments, is dismissed. If Ellul only confronted the evidence against the modern forms of social organization, especially in the West, he would be forced to admit that Society is not necessarily progressive. He would then be forced to accept the rightness of revolution, especially the great revolutionary movements of the 20th century against a colonialism and imperialism that have systematically exploited and impoverished millions of people. If Ellul confronted the evidence of human misery, he would see that organic solidarity is hardly reflected in the nations of the West.

Thomas Baughman

After cataloguing the failures of revolution, Ellul presents the reader with a statement of belief:

"... look at the spectacular progress we have made, the superb and even harmonious development, with science and technology outracing man and promising him ever-increasing security, knowledge, contentment, and mastery; universal equality is around the corner despite residual inequalities, which will disappear gradually as rapid economic expansion overtakes us; order is spreading, and with it, justice; culture reaches out in ever-broadening circles, educating and informing the whole planet, making the pursuit of leisure a reality; the conquest of disease goes on; moral consciousness is taking hold... Let us therefore reject the imperative of revolution."

Seigneur...

continued from page 9

they had been able to conceive of it."

Are these views of Eccles, Harris, Creighton, Parkman, et al. really any different from those put forward in George Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* (the high school text)? "The habitants had few luxuries but there was little if any poverty... The habitant did not object to the form of government... he was not oppressed as was the peasant in France.

...The relations of seigneur and habitant were not always perfect, but on the whole the system worked smoothly. The seigneur was honoured, no great gulf separated him from the habitants..."

Of all this, Ryerson says: "The weight of 'official' historiography has hitherto been heavily on the side of efforts to smother the facts of exploitation; and to present instead an idyllic picture of an alleged 'rural equality' as between seigneurs and tenants... The idyllic patriarchal picture of these times that has become traditional, is a piece of flagrant deception."

Indians...

continued from page 16

that everyone had a role with which he could identify. There was an active life and nobody felt the need, like today, to go constantly to the city. At the Matimekos reserve, the doors are locked; people stay behind their windows. Many of them do not have furniture and the frigidaires which Indian Affairs distributed are too often empty. Several Schefferville personalities deplore that living conditions, far from getting better,

have on the contrary deteriorated.

We, the Indians of the Lac John reserve, do not want any of that integration. We want to keep our liberty and to breathe. We do not want our daughters and sons to be tragically led towards a demoralization which can only destroy them. We know that all the Indians are unanimous in thinking that the reserve should have been built at Lac John, and not on the shores of a polluted lake. It is Indian Affairs which can and should put things right. When they could have conceived a housing complex composed of individual homes on the same location as

our reserve—nobody, especially the engineers, believes that it was impossible to provide us with water—they wanted to use us once again as guinea pigs by putting us forward as candidates for integration and assimilation and, once again, in such a town!

We can only continue to affirm that those of us who have remained at Lac John firmly desire to continue to stay there without someone seeking continually to pick a fight with them. It is as free men and women that they have made this choice, and it is as Indians that they desire to stay there.

Amoeboid sense of direction

by Linda Feldman

Council took on a special air Wednesday night. Students' Society President Gabor Zinner walked into the lounge in Union 327 wearing a flowing white gown and skullcap, and carrying two tapers.

A few seconds later, the candles were lit and a sweet scent filled the room. But it was by no means the smell of success.

The outgoing council was living up to its pre-set standards: not enough members were present for a quorum, and those at the meeting were divided over whether they should discuss Students' Society affairs.

In the audience, three incoming faculty representatives looked on as the meeting disintegrated.

The fall semester of 1972 was by no means an impressive season for either Council or the students of the university.

In fact, Council floundered most of the term in a mire of finances, even though some of the organizations and faculties concerned drew up their budgets as far back as last April.

It's a wonder that some Students' Society organizations continued to function at all. Four faculties saw approved budgets suddenly withdrawn because of technicalities that should never have been overlooked.

Other groups fell prey to the long-established custom of tabling, which this year reached incredible levels.

Councillors nipped endlessly over summer food allowances for Students' Society executive members and over \$180 for subscription expenses, even though the Students' Society this year recorded a surplus and received a \$40,000 grant from the University Administration.

Mario Di Paolo quit as finance director, to be succeeded by Music representative Pat Ormos, who handled the backlog of work admirably.

By the second-to-last Council meeting this term, most budgets from petitioning groups had received Council approval.

This year also saw new groups seek recognition from the Students' Society. For instance, a club like Gay McGill was chartered.

The Students' International Meditation Society, however, reached ethereal prop-



daily photo by Jean-Michel Joffe

ortions and never appeared to explain its constitution.

Old groups saw their character reassessed. The Debating Union had its theoretical, but seldom practised, right to co-ordinate all campus speaking events recognized.

ISA was allowed to present a combined budget for approval, rather than have each of its member organizations submit a separate budget. In addition, Council officially recognized the ISA as a major campus activity, thus freeing it from levying membership dues in future.

The usual number of politically-oriented causes tried to evoke Council response, but were gently disposed of in the traditional manner.

The beating and arrest of three McGill students for dispensing Maoist literature in front of the Administration building drew a mild protest after discussions in two meetings.

A petition condemning meteorological warfare and the bombing of dikes in North Vietnam received approval, but this was after a very cursory discussion.

Sexism appeared on two agendas, but never reached the discussion stage in meetings following the *Pot* issue of November 15th. The *Pot* itself was not censored.

Council banned a group apparently featuring strip routines, but only over Internal Vice-President David Weiner's protest that allowing the show would be an act of

defiance against a "fascist" Montreal government. Montreal by-laws do not permit strip-shows.

Council, however, did allocate funds for an anti-Vietnam War Project. It also voted this term to investigate the possibility of a delivery Pizza concession in the Union coffee shop and the establishment of a pub in the soon-to-be vacated bookstore.

A bid for a newspaper concession in the former Union switchboard area appeared frequently on Council agendas, and eventually received the nod also.

Game machines were brought into the Union, and were just as quickly removed when vandalism proved too prevalent.

If Council activities were insipid, one can look to a schizoid Council membership for the cause. Secessionist tendencies in architecture and engineering resulted in half-hearted (non)-participation from representatives of those faculties. Gundars Kajaks, the architect representative, tried late entrances, non-appearances, and attendance as a spectator to indicate his faculty's discontent with the Students' Society.

Most of the other faculties scrambled for increased funds to allow their constituents greater autonomy.

If additional money had not been available this year, they probably would have withdrawn from the Students' Society completely.

Bennett Little from Commerce and Nigel Gibson from Arts clawed each other periodically; Kajaks expressed his aversion to University Affairs Director Will Hoffman, and Hoffman himself occasionally indulged in mild verbal jostling with Ormos.

It added up to some absurd exchanges of insults, which at least kept the few spectators present at meetings amused—and awake.

But fewer vendettas, more political consciousness, and suppressed faculty self-interests would have done a lot to prevent the amoeboid sense of direction that Council displayed all term.

With many councillors returning next term for an encore, prospects for future decisive action and planning seem to be nil.

Gagnon...

continued from page 23

These persons have in common living conditions which are relatively advantageous compared to the whole proletariat. This is why they do not envisage the radical destruction of the present capitalist system as much as they do its amelioration, its 'humanization'."

Social democrats, according to Gagnon, are gradualists. They maintain that the struggle for socialism is made up of "stages". For example, support for the PQ and the achievement of national independence for Quebec is regarded as a necessary "stage" by the "left of the PQ". Gagnon agrees that the struggle for socialism consists of stages, but these

stages have to be part of the same process and each stage must be undertaken according to the exigencies of the final objective. The 'stages' of the social democrats, writes Gagnon, are only an expression of their "petty bourgeois opportunism".

Gagnon wants a party of the masses, not "a party of the greatest number" like the social democrats advocate. He wants a party that is capable of playing a leadership role in the class struggle, at the head of a working-class movement which is made up of all the popular organizations and their struggles. The party would not oppose any of these organizations; nor would it try to absorb them, much less to destroy them, unlike some self-styled workers' parties now in existence.

The party would constitute an ideological role. Its role would not be to form 'common fronts' or to elaborate a programme vague enough to accommodate all the "salariés" and sell them cards.

Gagnon quotes from a letter written by Charles Bettelheim to Paul Sweezy:

"The role of the party consists not only of defining the right objectives but of seizing upon what the masses are ready to do and leading them forward without ever taking recourse to constraint, but... by elaborating adequate tactics and strategy and helping the masses to organize."

"In résumé, a leading party can only be a proletarian party if it does not pretend to command the masses and if it remains, on the contrary, the instrument of their initiatives. This is only possible if it submits effectively to the criticism of the masses..."

"The role of a proletarian party is thus to aid the masses to realize themselves what conforms to their fundamental interests..."

It is essential that the party provide a political line, says Gagnon, if the proletariat is ever to be organized as a class, rather than as various individuals or groups of workers.

Struggles "from which one can clearly derive the knowledge of who is for the workers and who is against them" are helpful, as Gagnon pointed out at a meeting in Point St. Charles in October.

For example, during the *La Presse* strike of 1971 there were rivalries between the various unions involved. But after the historic demonstration of October 29, "certain of these workers realized that their friends weren't in the PQ" (which did not support the demonstration) "but in the other *La Presse* unions and in other Quebec unions in general."

Furthermore, in certain industries where layoffs are now becoming frequent and numerous, "unions which had previously been opposed to all forms of political action are now talking in a different manner."

It is difficult to say just how much influence Gagnon's book is going to have, or how much of a chance he has of getting his idea of a workers' party off the ground. Léandre Bergeron, the author of the influential *Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Québec*, whose own ideas have undergone considerable evolution since he wrote the book, has expressed support for the idea of a workers' party. Whether he agrees with Gagnon's concept, however, is not clear.

Gagnon is not in the "mainstream" of the Quebec left at the moment. Many leftists lean towards Vallières' option as the easiest way of attaining socialism in Quebec, despite Gagnon's arguments to the contrary. Some of them even denounce his idea of forming a separate "parti prolétarien" as factionalism, or deride it as having no chance in the present context. The many factional splits among Quebec left-wing groups which do not support the PQ, and the great confusion among ordinary people over the issue of nationalism, further obscure the possibilities.

Gagnon has faith that his "workers' party" will inevitably arise when objective conditions in Quebec are conducive to it, and that "other progressive elements will rally to it, even if they don't belong to the same movement". Again, he refers to Vietnam as a case in point. But Quebec is not Vietnam.

The publication of Gagnon's book helps to clarify an important issue. But the debate is by no means over. It has hardly begun.

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CANADIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT STUDY TOUR OF CHINA

McGill-University (Centre for East Asian Studies) and l'Université de Montréal are co-sponsoring a study tour of the People's Republic of China for Canadian university students in the early summer of 1973.

The purpose of this study tour is to provide twenty-five young Canadians with an opportunity to gain direct knowledge of China: of the social and political experiments being undertaken there; of the problems and successes in the struggle to modernize the largest of the "third world" countries; of the day-to-day activities, the goals and aspirations of Chinese citizens.

Tentative Schedule for China Study Tour runs from
May 12-June 29

Prospective participants need not have highly specialized knowledge of China or the Chinese language. They must, however, be willing to undertake intensive pre-tour preparation. Good health is mandatory. While every effort is being made by the organizers to completely fund the tour costs, candidates are advised that some financial obligation (to a maximum of \$300) may be unavoidable.

To obtain an Application Form apply to:
Union Box Office
3480 McTavish St.



McGill Chinese Students' Society
麥基爾大學中國同學會

ANNUAL CHRISTMAS DANCE at BISHOP MOUNTAIN HALL

3935 University St.

on December 21st, 1972.

from 8:30 P.M. to 2:00 A.M.

Door prizes

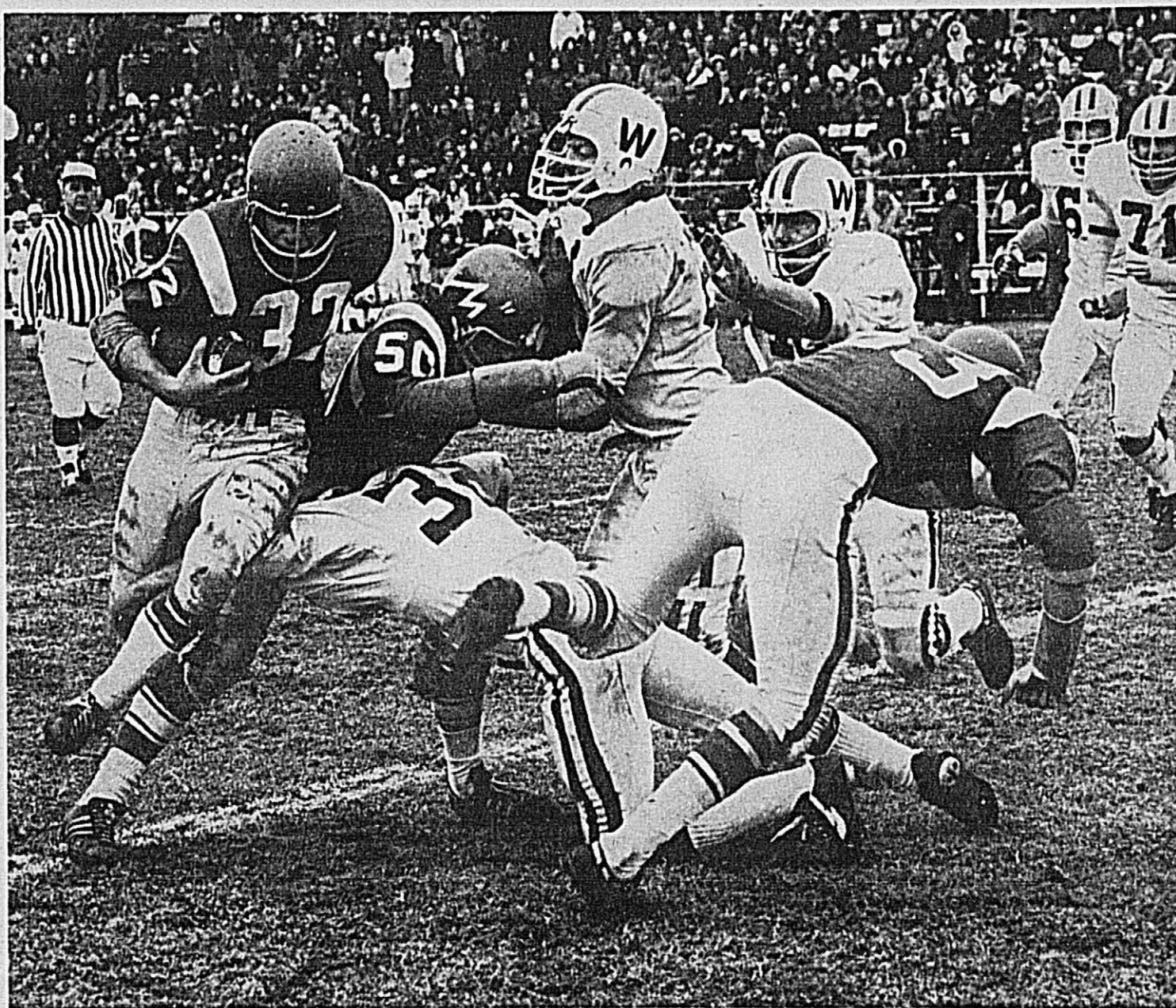
Band

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Tickets available from executives
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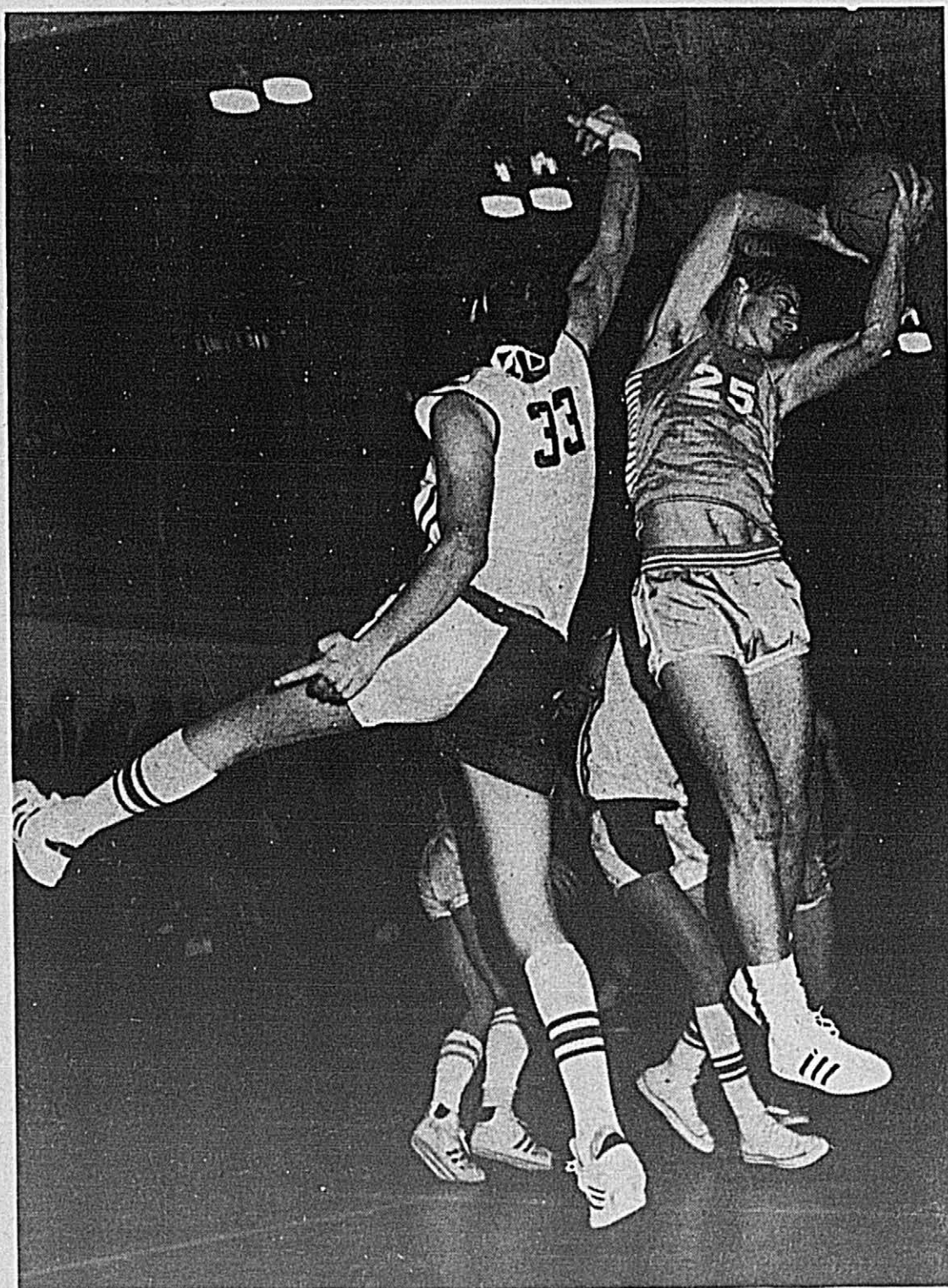
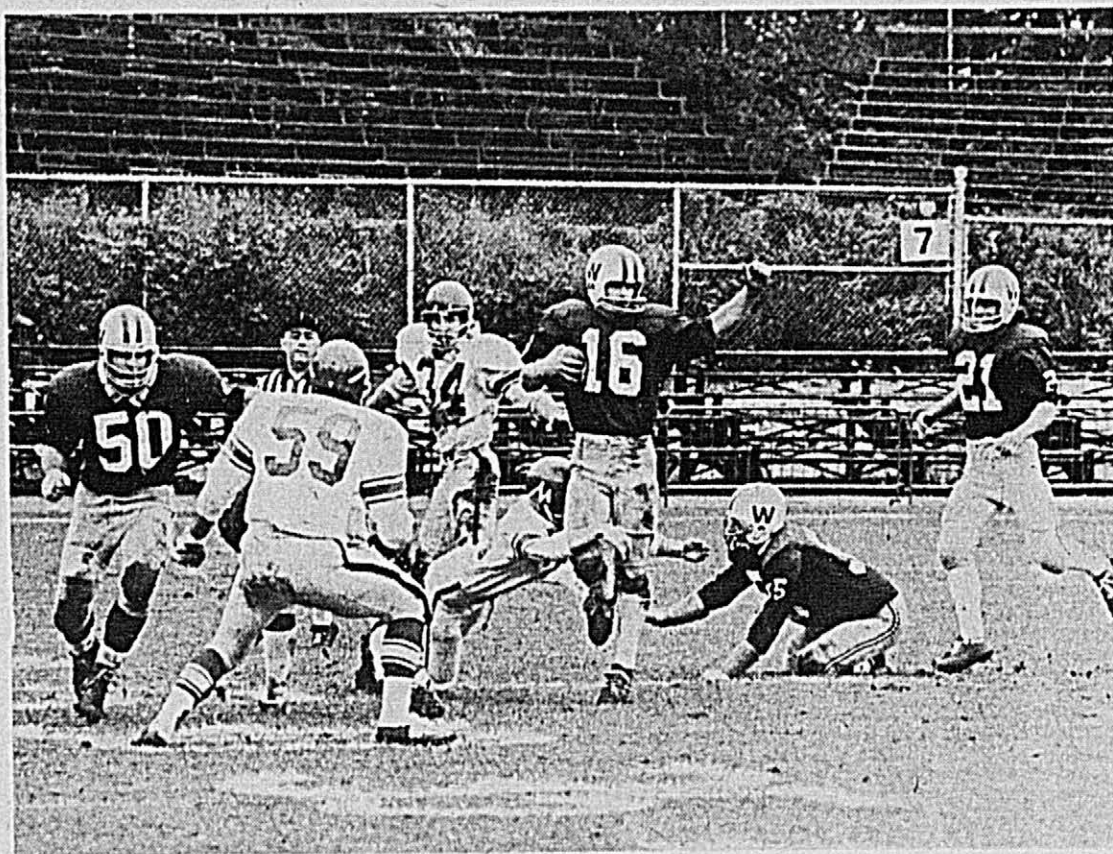
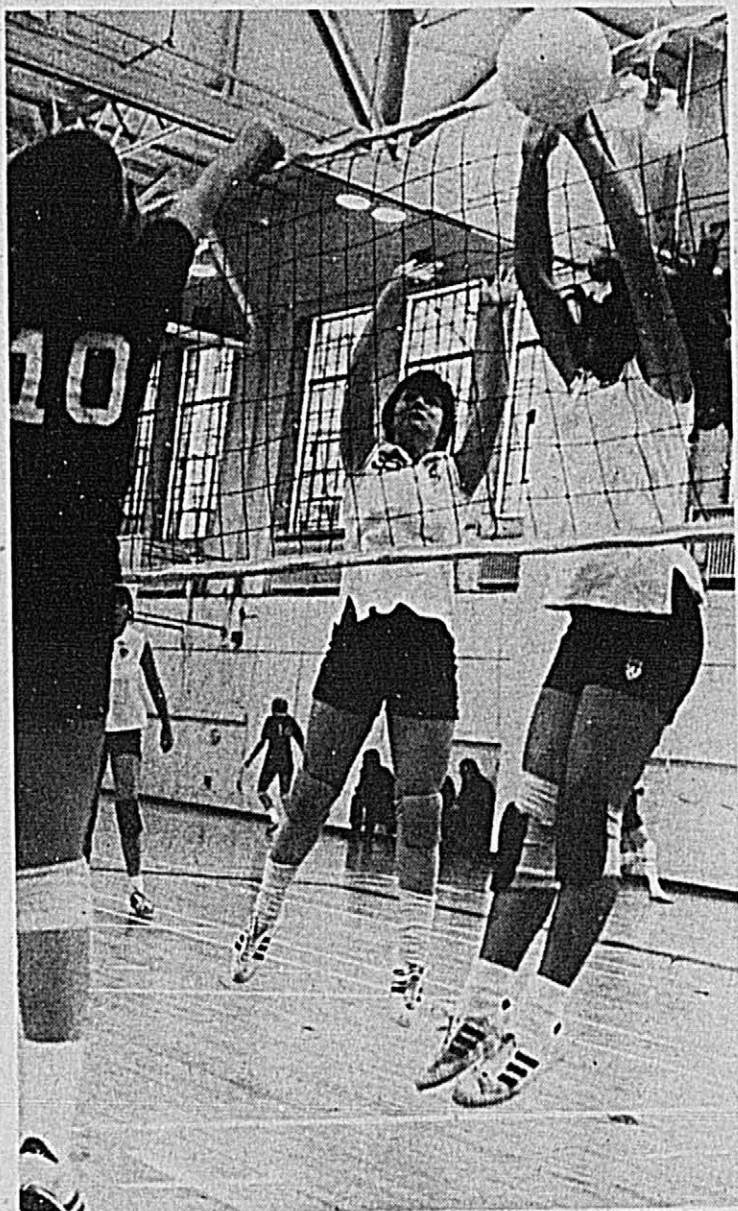


Sports review

photospread:

jean-michel joffe
gordon patterson
harold rosenberg





Sports

by matthew macfarlane

Redmen didn't quite make it



daily photo by harold rosenberg

THOUGH THIS YEAR'S VERSION of the Redmen came on strong in the second half of the season, they were unable to catch Loyola for the QUAA championship.

Throughout the history of sports, both amateur and professional, the most erudite of sport's personages have agreed on one thing, nobody remembers a loser. Honestly now, who can say they remember who placed second to the Yankees in 1964? Nobody remembers the bridesmaid but who can forget the bride—right? Wrong! At least when it comes to QUAA football it's wrong.

For all you people who suffered through this year's version of QUAA injustice you'll know what I'm talking about. Loyola won the conference crown despite fielding a team that by season's end was considerably inferior to the McGill Redmen. Result: Loyola was plastered all over the landscape by a bunch of bruisers from the University of Alberta (who subsequently won the Canadian collegiate championship). So in the end Loyola, who thought they had won the war despite losing the battles, lost everything. That left all the QUAA laurels to runner-up McGill.

Our guys, recovering from an abominable start against Bishop's and Loyola, ran off a string of four victories in a row and by season's

end had established at least one fact, that they deserved some form of play-off to determine if they should supplant Loyola as the QUAA representative in post-season play. This chance they did not get. Instead they settled for individual honours such as polling eight all-stars (to Loyola's six) and having the winner of the QUAA MVP (the irrepressible Chris Rumball).

The aforementioned all-stars, aside from Rumball, were flashy Frank Belvedere, (flanker), quarterback Dis Auders, centre Ian MacDonald, guard Zoran Madon, linebackers Mike Lorion, defensive back George Gaty and defensive tackle Ross Evans. These men were an integral part but by no means the only part of a squad that would have acquitted themselves considerably better than did the Warriors. Enough of the laudatory remarks, however deserved, for the moment. Perhaps more important is a little invective directed to my overly passive audience.

I can recall a discussion I had with assistant coach Bill McKenna before the season began, concerning the death of football at

McGill. Bill felt, as did the consensus of people I talked to, that there were simply too many alternatives in Montreal to going to watch football. The realist in me is forced to agree with this appraisal yet excuses cannot erase the very real disappointment that the players themselves felt when confronted with the obvious manifestations of no fan support, an empty stadium. I heard players say they would rather play away from home than at Molson Stadium simply to hear what a fan sounded like. That, my apathetic friends, is justified bitterness. These guys couldn't figure out what they were doing getting stomped on when no-one else gave a damn, and no answer I can provide can ameliorate the bad feelings that the players felt then and perhaps now. Let's leave it at that.

To the people who helped make the Redmen football team probably our most successful collegiate sports representative this year I'll just say thanks. To those of you who stayed away from Redmen games by the thousands I'll trouble you no further.

Sports Editorial

Sports in a bourgeois society

At a recent meeting in Molson Hall where Nesar Ahmad, editor of the *McGill Daily*, discussed the "role of the student newspaper" several criticisms were voiced by members of the audience on both sportswriting in the *Daily* and other papers, and on sports in general. The feeling was that there is too much aggressiveness, and too much emphasis on winning, in sports in North America. Instead the attitudes of brotherhood and cooperation should be emphasized. The opinion was also expressed that this attitude should be reflected in sportswriting; that references to competition should be left out of articles. Two examples given of the wrong attitude were the coverage of the Russia-Canada hockey series in the commercial media and a recent article in the *Daily* titled "McGill loses in riot". First I shall deal with the role of sports in North America.

It is a common practice among liberal elements in the bourgeoisie to gloss over basic contradictions in society. Various religious and "hip" movements have attempted to deny the reality of class conflict by promoting "brotherhood" and "love" among all men. These self-serving movements attempt to hide their true class interests. By mystifying the issues and inventing irrelevant considerations they try to neutralize working class dissatisfaction.

This attitude has recently spread to the world of sports. Much publicity has been given to various dripouts from professional sports (Jim Bouton, Chip Oliver, etc.) who

have denounced the many ugly aspects of professional sports. Still, you cannot divorce sport from the rest of the world, and so to expect an harmonious atmosphere among athletes in a capitalist society is absurd. This relationship is made clear in the statements of professionals who view their opponents as threats to their livelihood, as attempting to take the bread out of their mouths and those of their families. Among college football powers in the southern US the football programs are associated with the "Christian anti-Communist crusade". Amateur athletes such as Don Schollander have attributed their success to their ability to reach a state of hatred of their opponents before each race. Even in amateur sports where there are no material rewards the desire for status through beating an opponent becomes the driving force. These people are simply recognizing the contradictions of sport in bourgeois society.

Similarly, in western industrial societies sport acts as a release from frustrations for large numbers of people. A case in point are the annual soccer riots in Glasgow, Scotland. Glasgow is a grimy city with a large working-class population; it is also the home of two notorious soccer rivals, Glasgow Celtic and the Glasgow Rangers (Celtic has come to be associated with the Catholic population, Rangers with the Protestant). Matches between these two powers regularly set off riots between their respective working class supporters, often with resulting deaths. Of course these incidents are aimless and self-destructive,

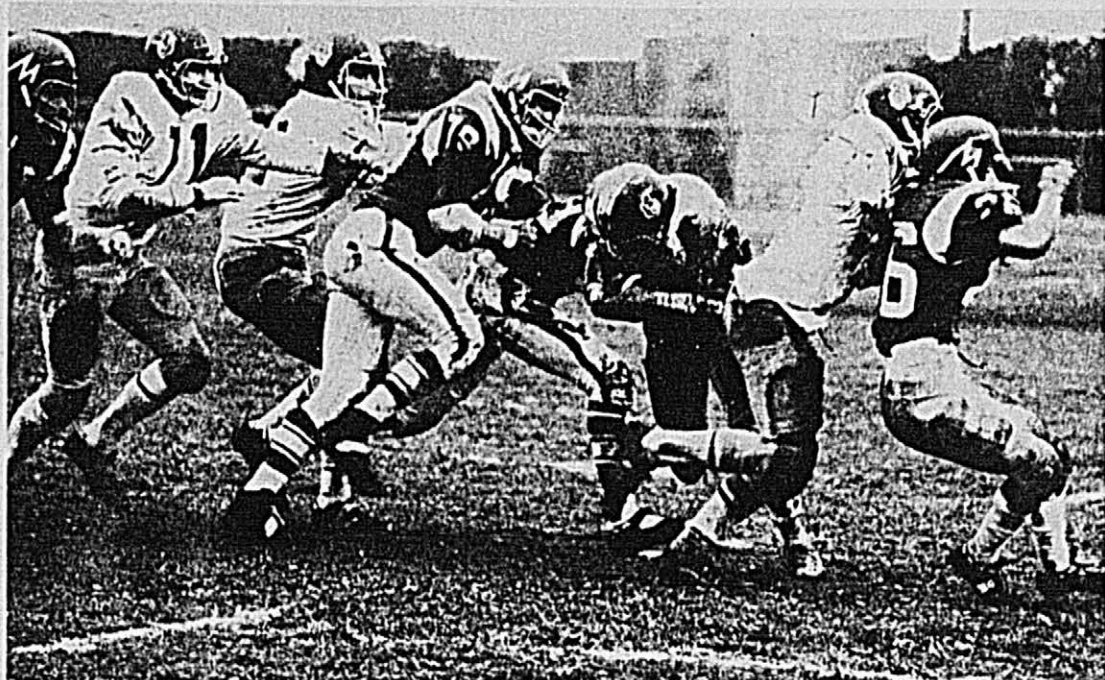
but self-righteous condemnation serves no purpose except reaction.

To speak of brotherhood in capitalist society is ridiculous. To divorce violence in sport from a critical analysis of bourgeois society is futile, and thereby self-defeating. Only with the triumph of the proletariat and the creation of a new society can sport reach a stage where its sole purposes are pleasure and exercise.

As far as sportswriting is concerned *Daily* sportswriters are free to report sports events as they wish. However to ignore the competitive aspect of sport will not make the aggressiveness and violence go away. Winning is important to those involved and as reported in the article "McGill loses in riot", violence is a part of McGill sports. To deal with a problem one must also recognize it. In the recent Canada-Russia hockey series both the Canadian hockey people and the media made fools of themselves; but this only serves to put in greater contrast the behaviour of the representatives of the Soviet Union, where a more rational attitude toward sport is taken.

In addition to reporting the sports events, the *Daily* sports department is interested in continuing analyses of the role of sport in society and welcomes any articles concerned with this area of sports.

Gordon Patterson



daily photos by jean-michel joffe



ABOVE: McGill's defense overwhelms Georgian ball-carrier.

BELOW: Redmen play a rare game before a crowd of people, of course it was away at Loyola.

Intramural football wrap-up

by ken abramovitch and
fulvio bussanori

Today we are planning to rip you off with one of the greatest sports resumes that ever hit the Daily.

Yes folks, it's all over. That smashing on-campus hit, "Autumn of '72" has run its course. The famed extravagance of the 1972 McGill Intramural Touchfootball campaign is now history. But wait! What's this? Awards? They are actually giving awards? (Gee, what's next? Free bananas at halftime?) Yes folks, with the termination of such a great event, this year's coup has voted a handful of winners who have "played" their parts well. The appropriate trophies will be awarded on center field of the Lower Campus in the midst of a snowstorm, (if we ever get one). So saddle up and be ready 'cause here they are:

The Golden Arm Award this year was won by Jack Sutton of Med. IV. With all due respect for the other quarterbacks in the league (Bill McKenna, Gary Elgar... even Redmen QB Uldis Auders) none have ever had the courtesy to throw precision bullet passes at the referee's head in an attempt to help him place the ball.

Take a bow Jack.

The Hoyt Wilhelm (alias Jim Bouton, Phil Niekro, etc....) Trophy is going to Bill Stanimir of the Tigers. If you think hitting a knuckleball in baseball is tough, you should speak to some of his receivers on catching one in football. (Funny though, the opposition never had that problem.)

Ever hear of football's cousin? Well this year's Most Valuable Player Award goes to the most talented individual who has demonstrated that he can "play football". Yes folks, he can do just that. He bounces, throws himself, (sometimes he even gets a bit of a spin) and gets just as dirty as the ball. He even wears laces like a football. Who else but Roman Karpysyn, a second year full-back with (who else?) the Cleat Laces. How about a bounce, Roman?

The Mutter-to-Myself goes to referee-in-chief Ron Kelly. He was once overheard saying to himself "In the autumn of '72, I fired three refs (they quit), told off five others (actually it was the other way around) and..."

The Offensive Lineman winner was Ian London of Eng. I. Why,

on each play you could hear him screaming "ouch", "yeowww", "gadzoos", (no kidding folks) and other respectable four letter words. Goes to show you, he was really taking his lumps.

Another Eng. I winner is Graham Hook, a smiling rock-hard defensive lineman. He won the coveted Forearm and Elbow Award. How inconspicuously he would knock loose more bones and teeth than the whole Strathcona Anatomy Building could handle. Once after having left his trademark (his elbows, of course) on one opponent and was subsequently given a roughing call, he turned and asked the referee "Who, me?". How about a smile, Graham?

The Johnny-on-the-Spot-Award, believe it or not, goes to an unidentified referee who picked off more passes than anyone else in the league. It goes to show that he was really on the ball, last count was 37.5 - interceptions, (he dropped one).

Here's our Cheap Thriller Award. It occurred during one mix up between two big ballplayers. Talks were overheard as "Me,

Play-by-play

by allan wolfe

CFL Expansion

The first Montreal blow for the expansion of the Canadian Football League to the United States has been struck.

Sam Berger, owner of the Alouettes launched his campaign to get New York into the CFL, by virtue of the CROP Study of Public Interest in Professional Football in Montreal, the results of which were revealed last Monday afternoon at the Press Club.

I happen to agree with Mr. Berger, who said, after the conference had finished, that now is the time to get into the United States. Past exposure of Canadian football to the US market has shown that there is not only an interest in the way we play the game, but that there is also a demand for it. Setting aside whatever damage Alex Karras and friend might have done Canadian football in the eyes of Americans with their antics this past summer, it is a proven fact that many Americans want to watch our game. And what better place to get that total US exposure than from New York.

New York is losing the Giants, and they are looking for something to put in their place. Therefore, there is a market for a team. Also, the CFL needs another team to even out the league.

But some people are afraid that the CFL would lose its Canadian identity if it expanded to the US... BULL!

The New York franchise would have to assure that they would play by the existing rules, therefore qualifying them as just another team. Then, some people have been crying that the Grey Cup is one of the most unifying forces we have in Canada, and that it would no longer have that effect if a US team were allowed to enter the CFL.

Well, I will grant that there are some unifying powers to the Grey Cup, but not so many that we should allow the CFL to stagnate because of it.

And just think of all the money that there is in New York. Why, the gate equalizations alone should make them shoo-ins for the CFL.

About the only problem that would arise would be the Canadian-American players ratio that each Canadian team now works under. As to that, I have no opinion yet.

Now, anyone who has been reading this column, would know that I love the Canadian football game infinitely more than the American product. Therefore, I should hope that people realize that I am not preaching the death of the CFL; rather the rebirth.

Back to the survey. It was conducted in two parts. One was at the Edmonton-Montreal game on 3 October, the other was by phone on the weekend of 8-9 October.

What it showed, basically, is that the people of Montreal are for the admittance of a New York team into the CFL. Also, by a slim majority, they said that the Alouettes should not join the NFL. But, if it did, they said that they thought the calibre of play would increase, and that they would continue coming to the games. On the question of what sort of a loss to the city it would be if the Als left town, it was stated, by over 4-1, that it would be a major loss.

On the question of which sport is watched on TV the most, football and hockey tied in popularity. Baseball came a distant third. As to going to the stadium to see a game, only the telephoned were asked the question. 68% preferred football, while 21% preferred hockey, and 9% baseball.

So, stay tuned for the next step in the continuing battle concerning CFL expansion.

Student Apathy

I would like to know why, when the games are free, no one shows up to watch either the hockey or the basketball Redmen? It can't be because of the quality of play. Both teams are quite good. I guess that it must be because of apathy.

Angie Moscovitz, and you come to tell me to my face. Who you?" On the other side of the line his counterpart had this to say: "Well hi guy. I'm your next door neighbour. I see you don't (gad, what a smell) use deodorant."

Finally, there's even a trophy for all 32 teams that competed in the league. It's the Everyone's a Winner Award. McGill's Intramural Touchfootball League

is what you've made it. There was a lot of good football action, team participation, and enthusiasm right down to the final game. So to all of you, one big "Hurrah".

If there is anyone who feels that he was grossly overlooked in the award balloting, our advice is that you don't get discouraged. You can always have another shot at them next year.

Harryvederci until next time.

by thierry neubert

Swim team rebuilding

For the past five years, swimming is the only sport in which McGill has been able to hold its own in intercollegiate competitions. Football, hockey, and basketball have all had their moments of glory, but these all proved to be short-lived: a one or two season burst and then nothing.

On the other hand, the swimmers, after four years of placing second or third in the national collegiate championships (the CIAUs), last year capped these fine performances by winning their first national title, McGill's first ever for any sport.

Unfortunately, '71-'72 also marked the end of a successful swimming era; only four swimmers remain of last year's 14-man squad. Gone too is Fouad Kamal, the coach, who is now in Ottawa. His place has been taken by master's student Bill Gillespie, one of last year's swimming stars.

Gillespie's task as coach is not enviable, as he will be hard put to match his predecessor's proud record. Instead of possessing eight or nine established stars he now has only two or three. The rest of the team is made up mostly of freshmen; many lacking in competitive experience, but making up for this in terms of enthusiasm. They train five times per week,

both in the water and on dry land (doing weights), for an average of two hours a day. In terms of physical fitness they are on a par with boxers and runners, i.e. at the top of the fitness ladder. One has to be a dedicated nut to churn up and down the pool at near top speed despite aching arms, legs, and lungs. Yet, that is what happens every day of the week to our boys, from September to February.

For coach Gillespie, then, team success will not be measured by how his team places in the final standings of the CIAUs, but rather, by how much progress each individual achieves during the year. He does hope, though, for a fourth place in the nationals.

In terms of individuals he expects veterans John Hawes, our Olympic representative, and Jim Frost to continue dominating the field in their specialties; backstroke and breaststroke respectively. John Jackson, also a veteran, is improving his backstroke and might qualify for the finals.

Among the newcomers we have acquired one experienced swimmer Dave Demarest, a law student, who should prove very helpful in the distance freestyle events. Charles Cole has come out of retirement and swims a

good breaststroke. He may also attempt the individual medley. Rookie Phil Wilson is making good progress in the butterfly. He has a lovely stroke but lacks strength in his shoulders. Jim Ducharme, a water polo player, is also very promising, and is a good all-round swimmer.

In terms of hard work, David de Sanctis is without peer. Though far from being a superstar, he is already slicing seconds off his previous best times. Hing Yap is another hard worker who shows promise. With patience, the above two could establish themselves in two years or so.

It is surprising to see that even some casual swimmers have decided to start swimming competitively in their "old" age. (I say "old" because most competitive swimmers start racing before the age of ten). Jean-Jacques Prodez, Jean Robert, Graham Thourin, all fit into this category.

To conclude, I should mention that coach Gillespie has made one major change in the training programme. He has allowed three members of the women's swimming team to train with his boys. The psychological effects of this phenomenon on swimmers have not yet been determined. Merry Christmas.



THE REDMEN WATERPOLOISTS are among the best in Canada, and have an active schedule this winter; water polo is also a great spectator sport.

by gina widawski

Aquatics budget cut

In one day, after having an informal talk with the two swimming coaches individually, I got the impression that swimming at McGill this year, has been both a success and a disappointment. It's true that the sport of swimming at McGill is here to stay, but perhaps not for the reasons one would think. Students have always taken advantage of the recreational programs offered, so the problem hasn't been the enthusiasm or the participation. I'm not saying that swimming has not been successful so far, but rather, that money has been the BIG factor for the disappointments of the men's intercollegiate team.

Take a good look at last year's and this year's statistics. Last year the team received the whole fare to go to the nationals at Laval, given by Health and Welfare, but this year, the nationals are being held in Calgary, and the team is only receiving one-half of the fare! Why has swimming never received any priority over the basketball, ice hockey, or football teams, especially since we have the return of John Hawes, the most outstanding athlete at McGill two years in a row, the CIAU swimming champion and a member of the 1972 Munich Olympic team?

For example, the ice hockey team receives three times the budget the swimming team gets, for ice hockey sticks! Not only that, but the budget this year was cut down 60% in intercollegiate activities. We have the facilities; a beautiful pool with spectator seats, but McGill is nothing compared to Waterloo, Simon Fraser, or UBC, which doesn't even have its own pool! We have the potential swimmers and the possibility of at least four swimmers doing well at the nationals this year, so let's see some improvements in the future! Money must be given by the Students' Society because the athletics department isn't giving enough. We don't want to see the team dropping out because no budget is available. What do YOU think???

As far as the women go, Miss Dubrule has been quite happy

with both the turnout and results of the team so far, which is a sure sign that things are very encouraging for the future. Frankie Anderson and DeeDee Cornell have returned for the women's team and upcoming people to watch are: Peggy Delaney (breast and individual medley specialist), Helen and Nickie Mememenlis (free and fly), Gail Sheppard and Judy Lewis (fly and I.M.), and Sally Kistler (breast), as well as Pat Morgan (former UNB swimmer) and Marie Yaremko (a promising free styler and former Quebec kayak champion). In the dual meet against Ottawa Nov. 21 these girls finished with a total of 78 points over Ottawa's 39 points.

The synchronized swimming team, who entered the Twin and Ashworth Trophy Dec. 3, also shows great promise as their team consists of soloists and duet, J. Jones and M. Wood, duet-V. And S. Meikle, and S. Chopp and K. Benson, plus the rest of the team, J. Cousineau, K. Laizner, S. Landeman, M. Quik, and S. Lindsay.

With teams like this, who needs an Olympic team? We have them here! They are both hard-working teams and have built themselves up from inexperienced swimmers to very improved ones. Last year the men's team were national champions and they hope to continue that streak this year. The women also have teams to be proud of. But there is one more thing which I have left out.

In the Red Cross program, only seven students out of sixty passed their examinations because not enough class time was given for instruction. There was a large sign-up, however only a small percentage of students turned up at classes. What happened was that only the bronze medallion and award of merit programs received close to the required hours of instruction. Next term, there will be two lessons a week, says Bill Gillespie, a half-hour each, so each student can practice on their own after the instructor leaves. Next year a registration fee will be charged to each student.



IN SPITE OF THE RETURN of Olympian John Hawes, McGill's swimming team stands little chance of retaining its national championship.

women's sports

WHAT'S GOING ON NEXT TERM?

INSTRUCTION—INTRAMURAL
RECREATION—INTERCOLLEGIATE

There's something for Everyone.

Obtain your Information pamphlet at:
Women's Athletics Offices and Locker Rooms
Weston Pool and Currie Gym.

JOB OPENING

Female to take electrocardiograms at Herzl Health Centre, 5780 Decelles Ave. Mon-Thurs 6:30-9 PM. Will be trained. Applicants wishing to work 2 nights only are welcome to apply. \$6/evening. Contact Mrs. P. Cousin—342-1550 to 9 PM

HILLEL

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Soup
Falafel
Dessert

69¢



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Secretary, Registered Nurses, Kitchen Manager

Model Camp in the Laurentians. Applications accepted.

Write: Mr. Sy Bekoff,
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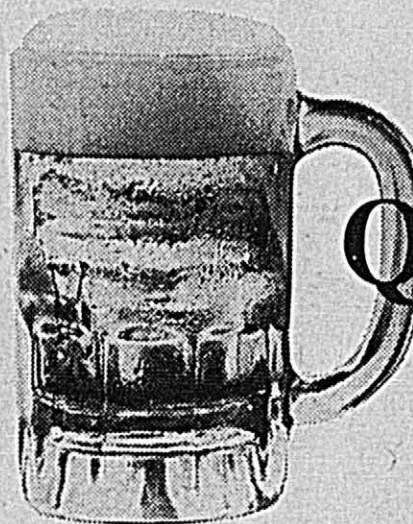
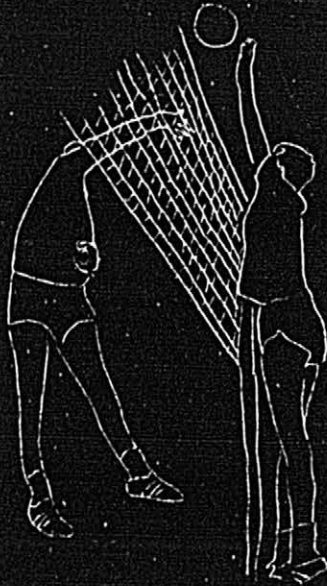
COED VOLLEYBALL NIGHT

WHEN: Friday, December 8, 1972
TIME: 6:00 to 10:00 p.m.
WHERE: Currie Gym

BRING YOUR OWN TEAM of six
(6) players (3 guys & 3 dolls)
OR come alone and we'll place you
on a team.

SIGN UP will be at 6:00 p.m.

REFRESHMENTS will be served.
PRIZES awarded for winning team.
Also, DOOR PRIZES



Quinquaginta



Fünfzig



Ötven

Take πέντε for πεντήκοντα



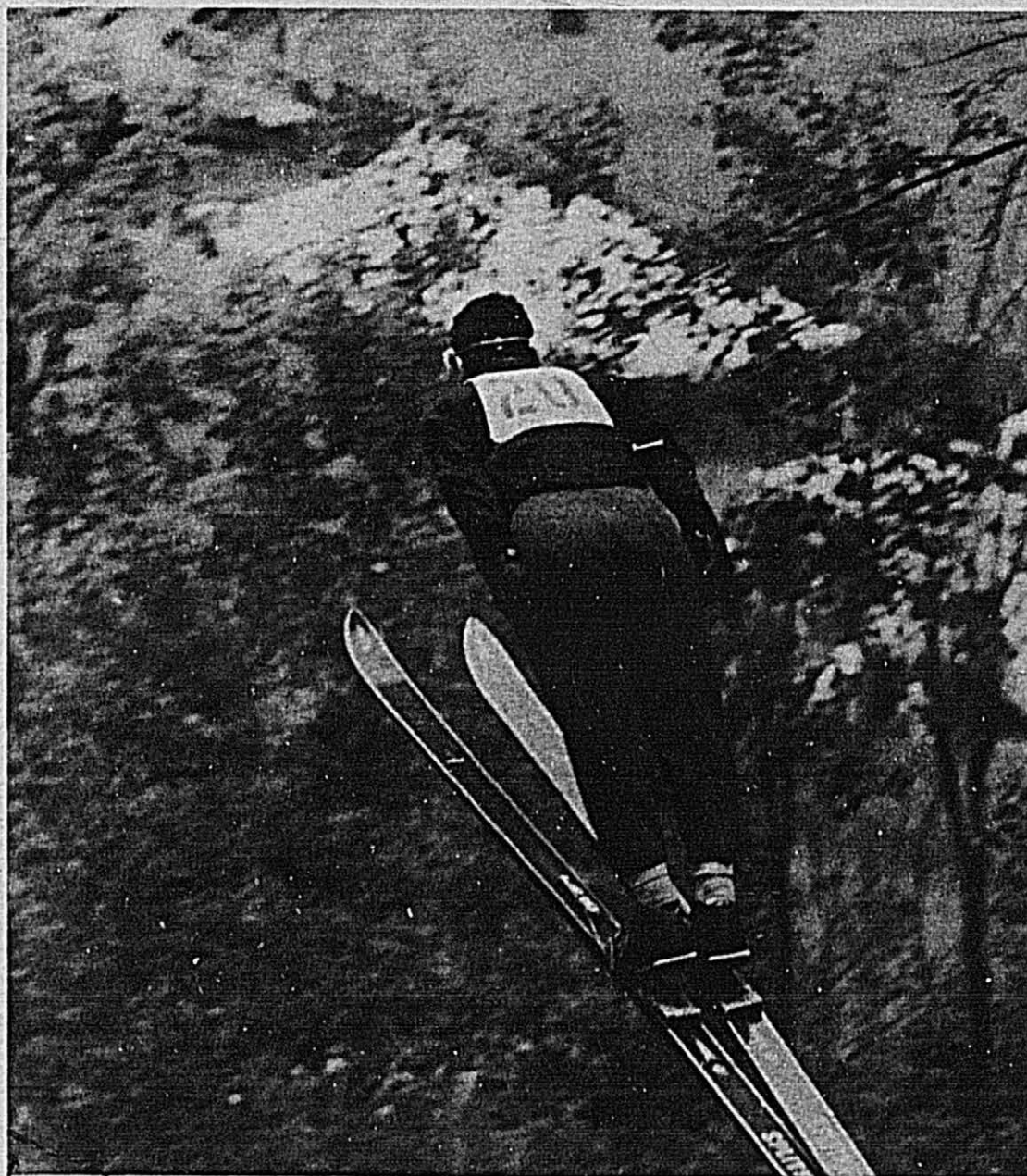
Into every CUSO volunteer's life.... a lot of rain must fall

The rainy season that brings the monsoons. The scorching summer months that steal the water...it's a cliché, like every African knows it snows all the time in Canada.

Sure that's how it is — some places. But CUSO volunteers have better things to talk about than the weather. They work.

**Come in out of the rain...
see your local CUSO committee.**

Professor John Lewis—Redpath Museum



AMONG ATHLETICS PROGRAMS planned for the winter are instructional ski classes (though don't expect to be doing anything like this).

by nancy lagodich

Women's sports

Every September, McGill students dawdle awhile at lower campus to smirk at some females hacking at the ground. Little do they realize that they are witnessing the fearless, undaunted McGill Whites preparing for the victories ahead. And victories they had. Out of six games played at the OWIAA tournament in Toronto, the McGill squad won four, tied one, and lost one. The unbeatable duo of Marg Lanning and Sue Pacquette never failed to swipe the ball away from under the noses of unwarned opponents. The McGill Reds, a new team, didn't win any games but now they do have some experience on which they can base their strategy next year.

Swimming is one of the most popular sports in McGill; participants coming in various shapes and sizes. The team accumulated hordes of points. The events in which it excelled were the 100 and 50 back, the 50 breast, and diving, which was a Wheeler and Blais show. Dee Dee Cornell, Peggy Delaney, and Frank Anderson acquired either first or second positions.

McGill can boast of their women's basketball team, for it has been defeated in only one encounter and that was by a slim margin of three points. The coach, Rick Morgan, is pleased with the progress of his girls. Janet Evans and Yolande Deschamps have astounded opponents with their performances.

The volleyball team can be considered one of the best of the English universities. However, the French universities are of a slightly higher calibre, not unbeatable though, as proven by McGill's victory against Laval. They have won half of their games, in which they displayed their invaluable ability to bounce back under pressure.

If Marilyn Staines, Maryse Godbout, and Dawn Johannsen keep hammering those goals in, the Super Squaws are in for some limelight. The Super Squaws consider their goalie, Rosemary Warren, a precious asset to the team. The season hasn't been too successful so far, but the girls are bursting with energy and potential.

Sports preview for coming weeks

by gina widawski

Hello sport fans and welcome to a preview of all the McGill sport action going on next month. There's lots in store so let's dribble our way through all the action.

As far as facilities go during exams from Dec. 18 - Jan. 12, only the pools and squash courts will be open at certain times. The gym and other areas will not be available except to people who are on the intercollegiate basketball teams, men's or women's, who will be allowed to come in for practices. Weston Pool closes 9:30 pm, Dec. 19, and opens again Jan. 8. The Sir Arthur Currie Pool will be open from 12-1:30 pm and 5-9:30 through the week and on Saturdays up to 8:30. The squash courts will also be open 12-1:30 and 5-10 pm as well as on Saturdays up to 9. These will be the only times as set up by the athletic department.

Stay tuned for Friday, Feb. 9 as that will be Athletics Night at McGill. Being featured will be the men's and women's basketball and ice hockey teams plus other events. Wait for more information in January.

Instructional

Coed. Register for second term courses on January 25 and 26 in room G-18, gym, in modern dance, fencing, aikido, gymnastics, Red Cross Instructor's, scuba, yoga and skating. Fencing will start Jan. 16 at 6:30 pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the Fencing Club will be running the same days from 7:30-9:30.

Men. Register also on Jan. 25 and 26 for golf, physical fitness (ski training), karate, squash, swimming-Red Cross, tennis and weight training. Judo is tentative.

Women. Classes resume for Keep Fit on Jan. 16. Badminton classes will start on Jan. 15 and continue to Feb. 9, while tennis will start Feb. 12 and will continue to March 9. Contact the office about archery, ski conditioning, squash and judo.

Register for any aquatic program at Weston Pool by attending the first class week of Jan. 15. Classes will continue for 8 weeks. Contact Gerry Dubrule for class times. Skiing classes will be held in Montreal and possibly in the Laurentians. There will be a meeting Monday Jan. 15 at 12:30 pm in Weston Pool Lounge to set up the class times and arrange-

ments. Register by attending the class of your choice the week of Jan. 15, on Tuesday at 10 and 11 am, Thursday at 2 or 3 pm, or Saturday at 9:30 or 10:30 am for skating. It will be open to men as well.

Intercollegiate

Coed. In skiing on Jan. 13, at UQAM, the Quebec Slalom Championships will be held, and on Jan. 27, at Laval, the Giant Slalom will make its way down the hills.

Men. In hockey, on Jan. 15, McGill faces off at SGWU at 8 pm. On Jan. 19, Sherbrooke plays here at home, also at 8, and McGill returns the call on Jan. 26 in Sherbrooke. In an afternoon game at 2 pm on Jan. 27, McGill is at Bishop's.

Basketball action finds MacJAC dribbling its way here at 9 pm on Jan. 12. Then it's all 8 pm games for McGill, as they travel to UQAM Jan. 16, RMC plays here Jan. 26, and McGill is at SGWU on Jan. 30.

Jan. 20 is the Loyola Judo Invitational, and on Jan. 13, the swim team splashes its way to the RMC Invitational.

Women. Jan. 15-25 are the dates for team tryouts for badmin-

ton. Register no later than Jan. 17 at the Women's Athletic Office, Currie Gym. Times of practices will be given at registration; tentatively some practices will be held during recreational badminton on Tuesday and Thursday nights. The team will consist of two singles players and one doubles team.

In basketball, on Jan. 13, at 12:00; McGill is at Laval, while on Jan. 17, Loyola comes here at 8 pm. Jan. 20, at 2 pm, McGill plays at UQTR. At 8 pm, Jan. 24, Sherbrooke faces off at the center line and then for three games McGill travels on the road, to McMaster Jan. 26 for 6:30, UQAM Jan. 30 for 8, and Bishop's Jan. 31 for 7 pm.

The McGill figure skating Invitational is Jan. 27 from 8:30-11:30 am. The volleyball team plays in tournament no. 4 at Loyola, Jan. 20 and tournament no. 5 at SGWU on Jan. 27.

The OWIAA East no.2 fencing tournament will take place Jan. 13 at the University of Ottawa, with McGill, Ottawa, Queen's and Carleton competing. The three top individual fencers and the two top teams for this area will fence against the West's top fencers. An invitational tournament at McGill in

fencing will be held on Jan. 29.

The ice hockey team travels in the month of January. On Jan. 19, they play Queen's at 6 pm, Toronto on Jan. 20 at 4 pm, McMaster on Jan. 26 at 4 pm, and York on Jan. 27 at 11. They will be travelling with the basketball team to McMaster so watch out!

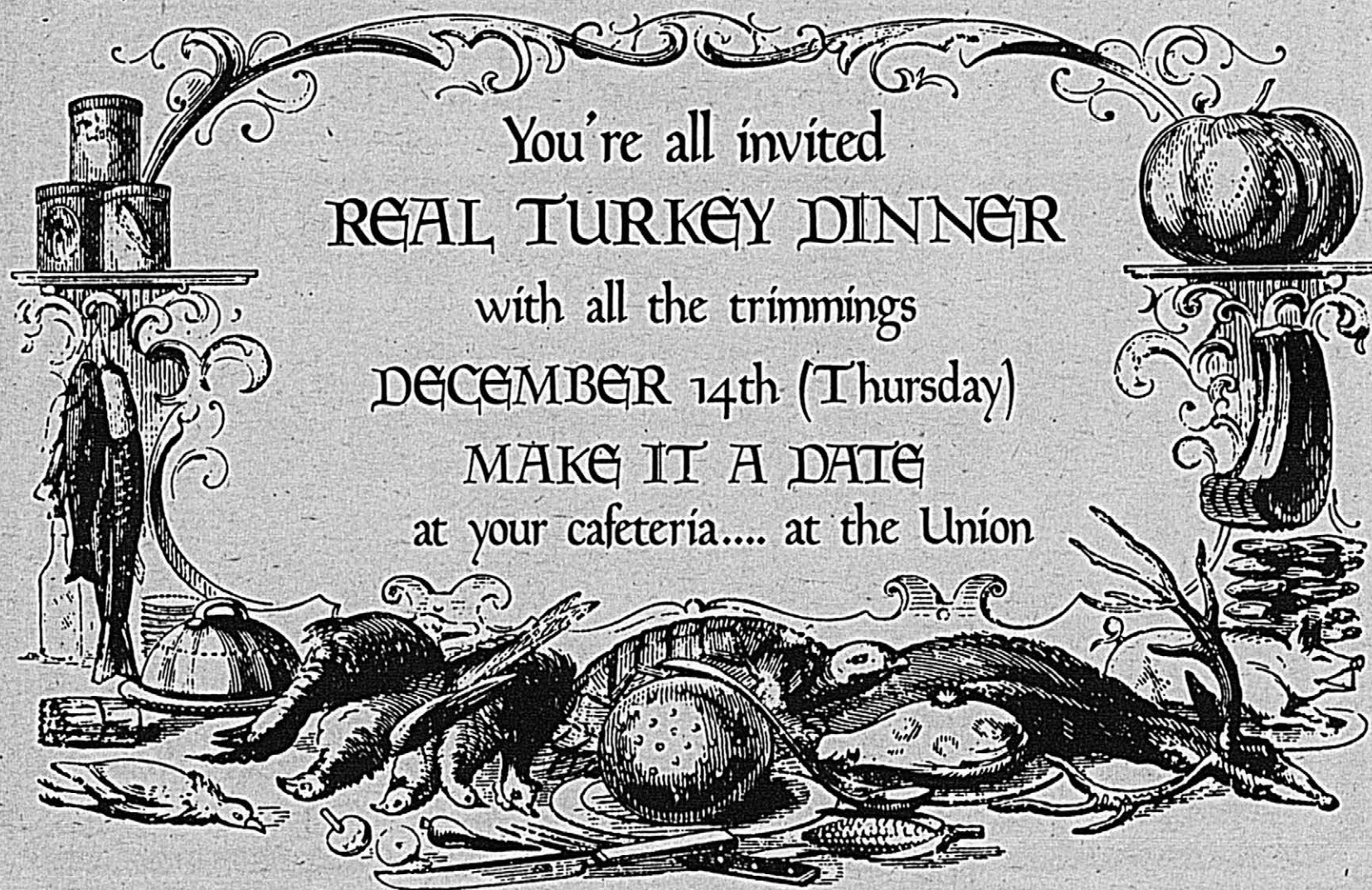
Intramural

Coed. Coed innertube water polo will begin Jan. 22. Basketball and broomball are only in its beginning stages, so wait for further information.

Men. Entries close in broomball Jan. 24, play begins Jan. 29. Indoor soccer has not been organized yet. Waterpolo closes its entries Jan. 25, play begins Jan. 31. The deadline for squash-singles entries is Jan. 31, play beginning Feb. 6.

Women. For the second term, bowling entries close Jan. 17 and competition dates will be Jan. 24 and 31. Skiing entries close Jan. 22 and Jan. 25 is the date of competition. A swimming marathon is being planned to run from Jan. 22-Feb. 3, and volleyball will run from Jan. 16-Feb. 1.

Until January 22, next article, have a good month in sports and to everyone, good luck in exams!

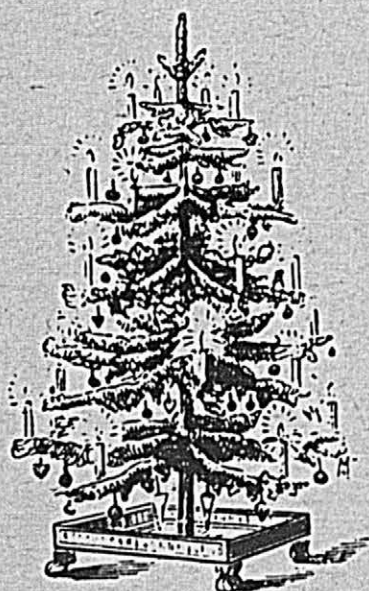


You're all invited
REAL TURKEY DINNER

with all the trimmings
 DECEMBER 14th (Thursday)
 MAKE IT A DATE
 at your cafeteria.... at the Union

From
 the crew at
 your cafeteria...at the Union

Merry Christmas to all



Bertha	Donna	
Betty	Toni	
Daisy	Carl	Pat
Lynn	Tom	Tom
Kalman	Carlos	Gordie &
Claire	Bob	Judy

MEDIA MCGILL FILMS WINTER ENTERTAINMENT Schedule

(clip and save)

Thurs	Dec 14	7:00 & 9:30 PM	FEARLESS VAMPIRE KILLERS Directed by Roman Polanski
Sat	Dec 16	2:30 & 8:00 PM	WOODSTOCK (original version)
Thurs	Dec 21	7:00 & 9:30 PM	GOING DOWN THE ROAD A Canadian film by Donald Shebib
Thurs	Dec 28	7:30 & 10:00 PM	CATCH 22 Starring Alan Arkin
Sat	Jan 6	7:00 & 9:30 PM	NIGHT OF THE LIVING DEAD The one and only
Sat	Jan 13	7:30 & 10:00 PM	TALES FROM THE CRYPT A Horror Masterpiece
Thurs	Jan 18	7:00 & 9:30 PM	BLOW UP Antonioni
Thurs	Feb 1	7:00 & 9:30 PM	MONTE PYTHON ((F.D.A.))
Sat	Feb 3	7:30 & 9:30 PM	WILLARD
Thurs	Feb 8	7:00 & 9:30 PM	PLAY IT AGAIN SAM (F.D.A.)
Thurs	Feb 15	7:00 & 9:30 PM	SHAFT
Thurs	Mar 1	7:00 & 9:30 PM	KLUTE
Thurs	Mar 8	7:00 & 9:30 PM	MARAT SADE

ALL FILMS TO BE SHOWN IN THE LEACOCK BUILDING, ROOM 132 UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, e.g. (F.D.A.) FRANK DAWSON ADAMS AUDITORIUM

gaily embroidered
VELVET DRESSES
from India

16.99

heavily embroidered

gaily embroidered

made of hand-woven cotton

16.99

elasticized waist

19.99

beautiful soft velvet used

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if you don't like the smell, you smell, then smell the smell you like!

5" x 3" 1.59

3" x 3" .99

SCENTED CANDLES

they make scents

comes in many sizes + patterns.

SHEESHAM-WOOD BOXES

4.99

a great gift item from Farrukhabad.

Whether you're going to Africa or not.....

SAFARI SHIRTS

from India.

8.88

don't worry... the hand doesn't come with the glass.

hand-blown from Mexico

drink a little Christmas cheer from one of our

FESTIVAL WINE GLASSES

6 oz.....	1.29
12 oz.....	1.69
18 oz.....	1.89
26 oz.....	2.49